

JPRS 82040

21 October 1982

# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2644

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

21 October 1982

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2644

## CONTENTS

## EGYPT

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Problems in Delivery of Justice Discussed<br>(Muhammad Salamah; AL-SIYASI, 15 Aug 82) .....             | 1 |
| Costs, Benefits of Big Land Reclamation Project Weighed<br>(Mamduh Mu'awwad; AL-AHRAM, 29 Aug 82) ..... | 5 |
| Problems of Currency Black Market Reviewed<br>(Sharif al-'Abd; AL-AHRAM, 28 Aug 82) .....               | 6 |
| Matruh Governorate Tribes Celebrate Annual Festival<br>(AL-AKHBAR, 27 Aug 82) .....                     | 8 |

## IRAN

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Supreme Judicial Council Issues New Islamic, Legal<br>Interpretation<br>(ETTELA'AT, 14 Sep 82) ..... | 12 |
| Sistan-Baluchestan Get Ninety Kilometers of New Roads<br>(Kordi Interview; BURS, 8 Sep 82) .....     | 18 |
| NEKA Power Combine Scheduled To Increase Output<br>(Ghafuri-Fard Interview; BURS, 3 Sep 82) .....    | 20 |
| Numerous Buildings Completed in Esfahan Province<br>(BURS, 8 Sep 82) .....                           | 22 |
| Many New Dwellings Planned for Sistan-Baluchestan<br>(BURS, 8 Sep 82) .....                          | 24 |

## ISRAEL

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Mine Clearing, Preparations for Winter Occupy IDF Engineers<br>(Roman Prister; HA'ARETZ, 20 Aug 82) ..... | 25 |
|---|----|

## JORDAN

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Usefulness of Cooperative Organization Questioned<br>(Fahd al-Fanik; AL-UFUQ, 28 Jul-3 Aug 82) ..... | 32 |
| Jordan's Role After Crisis in Lebanon Viewed<br>(Tariq Masariwah; AL-UFUQ, 28 Jul-3 Aug 82) .....    | 34 |

## LEBANON

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Prominent Figures Discuss Country's Problems, Future Prospects<br>(AL-HAWADITH, various dates) ..... | 37 |
| Rashid Karami Interviewed  |    |
| Walid Junblat Interviewed  |    |
| Faysal Arsalan Interviewed   |    |
| Pierre al-Jumayyil Interviewed   |    |
| Jean 'Aziz Interviewed   |    |
| 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i Interviewed  |    |

## MOROCCO

|  |    |
|--|----|
| ANMA Annual Report on Investment Code Noted<br>(LA VIE ECONOMIQUE, 17 Sep 82) .....          | 70 |
| Census Objectives, Methods Explained<br>(Mohamed Dibs Interview; L'OPINION, 17 Aug 82) ..... | 73 |

## SUDAN

|   |    |
|---|----|
| President Describes Various Problems, Policies<br>(Mukhtar al-Asamm Interview; AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 2 Aug 82) | 78 |
|---|----|



PROBLEMS IN DELIVERY OF JUSTICE DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 15 Aug 82 p 9

[Article by Muhammad Salamah: "The Slow Pace of Justice: Judges Make Judgments in 150 Cases a Day; Attorneys Postpone Cases To Increase Their Fees; Court Officers Collect One Piaster for Each Court Summons; Court Sessions Held in Popular Housing Apartments"]

[Text] The well-known saying states: "Delaying justice is a form of injustice." If a delay in the delivery of justice is accompanied by difficult social and economic conditions, the delivery of justice as fast as possible to those who have a legal claim becomes an urgent matter under our present circumstances.

Actually, the realization of this wish, which is related to all the aspects of daily life, is no easy matter. It is related to numerous factors that must all be brought together so that swift justice can be realized.

Judges have problems with the large case loads they have to deal with. There are ancient laws. There are the officers of the court. And there is also the court-house itself and the methods that are used for storing [records of] lawsuits.

150 Cases Daily

'Abdallah Hasan, the secretary general of the Bar Association explains that the slow pace of the justice system in Egypt is due to the litigation system itself. "This is because judges settle a very large number of cases every day. What they do is beyond human endurance. It doesn't make sense for judges to have 150 cases a day: they would have to hear defense arguments and prosecution arguments and then make a decision. Some judges work from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. This, of course, is quite burdensome on the system of justice and it is even harmful to it."

Mr Hasan indicates that it is possible to increase the number of judges by attracting many attorneys to that line of work, training them to be judges and realizing an appropriate standard of living for them. Part of the court fees paid in each lawsuit--and there are many lawsuits--may be utilized to achieve this objective. For the Ministry of Justice is the only ministry in the world that engages in a kind of fund-raising when it collects court fees. There are numerous court fees: an original fee, a fixed fee and an additional fee.

These various fees that litigants have to pay are an additional tax paid for a service rendered to meet the demand for justice and for that to which one is legally entitled. Justice can never be a commodity, but if these sums of money are actually collected, part of the proceeds can be used to raise the standard of court employees.

#### Institutes for Judges

To overcome the problem of the shortage in the number of judges, 'Imad al-Din 'Abd-al-Majid, district attorney for the court of Bulaq, suggests that institutes for judges be established. It is known that a judge must have certain qualifications and must have a broad base of knowledge. This can only come about through training in special institutions.

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid thinks that the idea of specializing in administering the law will not be useful and that it would rather lead to more complications. This is because laws are interrelated parts of a system even though they are divided on the surface into civil, criminal and personal status laws. These laws are nevertheless connected and interrelated with each other.

#### One Piaster for the Officer of the Court

The achievement of swift justice is also closely tied to the officers of the court. They are the ones who notify defendants [of the judgments that are handed down], and they are the ones who have to act to execute the penalty.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hasan, first officer at al-Azbakiyah Court says, "Does it make sense for an officer of the court to receive 1 piaster for each summons he delivers in his district and 1 piaster for each kilometer he has to walk or travel [in carrying out his job] while the cost of private and public transportation has risen several times?

"An officer of the court has to work more than 10 hours a day. There is no way that he can be protected from a defendant even though he goes to the homes of litigants to deliver a summons or an order for carrying out a judgement. To deliver a court summons an officer of the court may have to go to one place several times, and he may have to do that for years. Mr Hasan gives an example of this and says that for several years he had been going to the address of one of the respondents in a lawsuit. For 7 years he had been going to the address he had on the petition, but the respondent was in an Arab country. However, he had to go to his Cairo residence to inquire about the man.

Mr Hasan asks that a harsher penalty should be imposed on those who give false information with the intent of misguiding or delaying justice. He also asks that incentives for officers of the court be increased because of the conditions of their work.

Then he adds, "Why don't we use the proceeds from the sale of stamps that have to be affixed to petitions to improve the conditions of officers of the court?"

#### A Courthouse Building Fund

There is another difficulty that has to do with the swift settlement of lawsuits: courthouses are no longer suitable; in addition, they are cramped.

A Courthouse Building Fund was established in the Ministry of Justice in 1954. Its proceeds were to be used to build courthouses that are appropriate for [the delivery of] justice. Ever since then and for about 30 years there have been no new courthouses.

Sulayman Salamah, chief justice in the Court of North Cairo, asks that courtrooms be appropriate places for the business of the courts. They must have enough room for the litigants. He is asking that a periodic bulletin be made available to judges every morning and that that bulletin include the most important laws that a judge will deal with [that day].

Attorney Mansur Mahmud agrees that courtrooms are no longer appropriate for the number of litigants in each lawsuit, nor for the number of lawsuits that are on the court's docket each day. This causes delays in the justice system.

Mr Mahmud gives an example of that. He says that the courts of al-Jizah are located in buildings that had originally been built for popular housing. The court consists of small apartments in buildings. It is therefore not strange that a case remains pending for 3 years without a settlement.

Mr Mahmud asks that appropriations be provided for courthouses so that they can be furnished and provided with modern systems for storing [records] of lawsuits. The courts have piles and piles of files on lawsuits. These are being destroyed by humidity and insects. Cabinets will not do the job, and they would be totally inappropriate. Mr Mahmud adds, "Although these things are not fundamental, they do affect the morale of judges and this delays the settlement of lawsuits."

#### Proliferation of Laws

There is a problem with the proliferation of laws and with contradictory laws. This causes delays in the settlement of lawsuits.

It is known that laws are the manifestation of a social phenomenon. Laws are enacted in the first place to organize life, not to complicate it. Nevertheless, many laws that are still in effect were enacted years ago. In fact, some of them have been on the books for over 100 years even though life has changed completely.

Samir 'Ali Husayn, district attorney in the Court of Bulaq, says, "The present method that is used in introducing new legislation or in 'patching up' existing laws is most certainly one that does not serve the interests of justice. Judges themselves have not been able to keep up with these laws and to put them into effect, and this has created a new obstacle for them."

Mr Husayn thinks that the continuous enactment of laws in one area is contrary to the essential property of the law which must remain constant for the longest possible period. But the fact that a law is issued today and then changed tomorrow leads to a series of ever-changing measures. For example, abolishing protests in criminal sentences has led to the invalidation of previous and subsequent measures because law is like a building: if one brick in that building falls, the entire building becomes disjointed.

Also the fact that legislators interfere in every small detail does not serve the

interests of justice. Instead, legislators must focus on fundamentals. Unexpected matters are to be left to the discretion of a judge and to the particular circumstances of a case.

All these problems are reflected on those who have legal claims that have been delayed.

There are cases where litigants deliberately postpone a suit several times and protract the duration of a lawsuit to affect their opponents psychologically. Attorneys here find a definite opportunity for adding to their fees as a result of the extended effort that has to be made.

Attorney Muhammad al-Batran says, "Some attorneys do in fact try to protract the duration of a lawsuit, but this is not the only reason for lawsuits that remain pending for a long time. Unexpected laws may slow down the course of a lawsuit."

Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz, a citizen, relates that he has been running around in the courts for 3 years because of a personal status lawsuit. Although his is a simple case, unexpected new laws have postponed judgment in his case more than once. He had divorced his wife on 3 June 1979. His former wife took him to court to ask for alimony according to the Personal Status Law which became effective on 23 June. So far, the case is still pending, and the first session has been scheduled for next November.

'Abd-al-'Azim Ibrahim, another citizen, said that he had filed a lawsuit 3 years ago over a dispute over a piece of land. Although all the documents have been filed, the case has not yet been settled. This is affecting his state of mind and his job performance.

These are the problems of the administration of justice. These problems have an effect on the speedy resolution of citizens' legal claims.

All the agencies of the court, all the laws, and all the litigants with their lawsuits must be reconsidered so that the objective of justice can be achieved.

8592

CSO: 4504/486



## COSTS, BENEFITS OF BIG LAND RECLAMATION PROJECT WEIGHED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Aug 82 p 8

/Article by Mamduh Mu'awwad: "The People's Assembly Discusses the First Report on the Al-Salihiyah Lands: The Per-Feddan Reclamation Cost Is 3,400 Pounds"/

/Text/ At its next session, the People's Assembly will discuss a report which the assembly's Committee on Agriculture and Irrigation has prepared on the project to reclaim 56,500 feddans in al-Salihiyah. The report stresses that the reclamation cost 3,400 pounds per feddan, including social facilities and services. The committee, chaired by Mr Mahdi Shuman, recommended that the project be retained by the company in charge of reclamation for a 5-year period to protect it from deterioration, that the projects on which construction has started be completed, that the reclamation and new planting projects be completed and that the land be given to the cooperative societies in the future in lots of 1,000 feddans to guarantee that ownership is not broken up and that modern equipment is used.

The committee recommended that service companies be established to operate agricultural equipment for a fee, along with coordinating, transportation and pest control companies, to provide services to the companies and societies that own the land. The committee also requested that the surface irrigation system be converted to one of sprinkler and drip irrigation, that canals be dispensed with by transmitting the irrigation water through pipes so that it will be possible to supply large amounts of water which can be used to reclaim new areas of land, and that a dry fodder plant be erected.

The committee made a field visit to the project and investigated the various reclamation and new farming stages. It became apparent to the committee that the land that had been farmed in the course of two successive seasons had yielded an exceptional vegetable output which was in keeping with export requirements. However, the crops in lands farmed for the first time seemed mediocre.

The committee said that the project would help solve the food shortage in Egypt, whereas agricultural land had been providing Egypt with only 30 percent of its requirements, costing the government 3 billion pounds a year. The committee observed that one station to produce dairy products had been set up out of the 20 that were to have been set up, along with one of 12 plans to produce eggs with a capacity of 15 million eggs a year and one livestock feed lot with a capacity of 6,000 head, and that pump and pipe facilities and stations had been erected to transport water, along with electric lines.

11887

CSO: 4504/499

## PROBLEMS OF CURRENCY BLACK MARKET REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Aug 82 p 13

/Article by Sharif al-'Abd: "The Dollar--Police Campaigns Alone Will Not Bring Its Price down!"/

/Text/ With the recent drop in the free market value of the dollar from 117 to 105 piasters, can we expect that this decline will continue until it approaches the exchange rate, thus ultimately restoring to the Egyptian pound the buying power it once had and bringing about price stability? Will the favorable outlook for an anticipated continued decline in the value of the dollar require that one stress the need to apply a policy of import guidance, limit luxury imports and aggressively prosecute hard currency smuggling and trafficking operations?

Dr 'Ali Lutfi, former minister of finance, says, "The fluctuations in the exchange rate of the dollar relative to the Egyptian pound in the Egyptian market may be attributed to seasonal factors, such as the arrival of working Egyptians from abroad, the pilgrimage season, the worldwide interest rate on the dollar and the link between that and the interest rate on dollar deposits in Egypt. Without a doubt, the worldwide interest rate on the dollar, the rises and declines that it has experienced and the subsequent changes in this rate in the Egyptian market cause demand for the dollar to increase when the interest rate is high, so that its price rises, while the opposite is the case when the worldwide interest rate drops.

"However, it is difficult for us to expect that the exchange rate of the dollar in the Egyptian market will constantly decline, reaching a point where it might after a specific period get to 83 piasters, for example, which represents the exchange rate or the encouragement rate. This cannot happen in a short period. However, what we can expect is that a gradual decline will occur in the value of the dollar, as has happened recently, and that this decline will continue as decrees and policies are continued which all ultimately will result in increasing the supply of the dollar and reducing demand for it. There is no doubt that decrees which could bring that about involve continuing the process of guiding imports, striving to raise rates of productivity in a manner limiting the rise in imports of many commodities, striving to get local products to take the place of imported products whose international prices are constantly increasing, after their quality is enhanced and their cost reduced, and also adopting measures that will guarantee that Egyptians working abroad are further encouraged to remit their savings to Egypt. By that we do not mean further increasing the encouragement rate, because this would mean a

new reduction in the value of the Egyptian pound--which we vehemently oppose at this stage--but rather providing Egyptians working abroad with real investment opportunities. The situation also requires that intensified campaigns be kept up to eliminate the commerce in foreign currency outside the banking system. In addition, it is necessary that Central Bank surveillance over branches of foreign banks operating in Egypt be extended to impose surveillance over all the operations they perform. In addition to that, the situation requires that the economic laws, decrees, statutes and policies in effect be continued so that everyone will be willing to save and invest."

Hamzah al-'Adawi, director general of the Suez Canal Bank, says "The policy followed at the present time regarding the guidance of imports undoubtedly has an obvious effect on reducing demand for the dollar in the domestic market and consequently on having its unrestricted price continue to decline. In addition, continuing the policy of the tax that was recently imposed on luxury goods and the concomitant rise in the prices of these goods will undoubtedly result in increased tax receipts which will help cope with the deficit in the balance of payments and in addition will limit the consumption of such commodities, on top of the credit policy which is being applied now and the instructions which have been given to banks in this regard, which call for a prohibition on the grant of credit facilities for all manufactured commodity imports. This will all have the effect of limiting demand for the dollar and consequently reducing its rate and bolstering the value of the Egyptian pound relative to the dollar.

"The statement that launching campaigns against hard currency dealings will result in a continued decline in the dollar is anathema to sound thinking, since private currency exchange activities and foreign currency dealings are to be found in all countries of the world, including Communist countries. We are a country where 5 million Egyptians are now working abroad and it is out of the question that one can stop these people's dealings in the unrestricted market. Continuing such campaigns will not lead to a drop in the rate of the dollar--rather, that will increase it, since the currency dealers' risk factor will increase as a consequence of the intensification of these campaigns, and this, in turn, will be reflected in the premium added to the exchange rate by which the unrestricted rate is determined. Continuing such campaigns could result in having these savings of Egyptians working abroad flow into all areas except the Egyptian market. The more these restrictions are increased, the more the formation of Egyptian wealth abroad is directed to areas besides Egypt. What is needed is to avoid going to excess in putting restrictions on the free market for transactions in currencies, since these restrictions and campaigns will directly lead to a rise in the price of the dollar on the free market, while, if freedom is provided in this field, Egyptians' remittances will increase while imports are guided in such a way that a natural drop will occur in the dollar, through which, in the long run, it will be possible to bring the real value of the dollar close to the exchange rate--and this, as a consequence, will result in restoring to the Egyptian pound its strength. That process in the first place is governed by the natural balance between the volumes of supply and demand for currency.

11887

CSO: 4504/499



MATRUH GOVERNORATE TRIBES CELEBRATE ANNUAL FESTIVAL

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 27 Aug 82 p 9

/Article: "Matruh, on Its National Day: The Isolation of the Northern Coast Has Ended"/

/Text/ In celebrating the national holiday of Matruh Governorate, the tribes of Awlad 'Ali declared that they stand in a single rank against all attempts to infringe upon the soil of Egypt and that they are the staunch guardians of the western gateway to Egypt. They also stressed their trust in President Husni Mubarak.

The 67th anniversary of the 1915 battle of Wadi Majid, in which the bedouins of the Western Desert defeated the British occupation forces, was commemorated.

Maj Gen Yusri al-Shami, the governor of Matruh, spoke, giving salutations to the living heroes of these battles and expressing appreciation for their martyrs.

He then reviewed some of the accomplishments which had been made last year. In spite of the harsh circumstances in the governorate, its military, civilian and legislative sectors, and the sectors of the people, have made great efforts in the form of projects aimed at carrying out a comprehensive development plan in the various areas of Marsa Matruh Governorate. That is clear in the tourist, construction and commercial projects that have been completed all along the northwest coast, thanks to the efforts of the development system, headed by Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, the minister of redevelopment, and all the executive and people's agencies in the governorate.

Maj Gen Yusri al-Shami then reviewed these accomplishments in various fields:

In the Information Field

Television transmission booster stations were erected and put into operation in al-Dab'ah, Marsa Matruh, Sidi Barrani and al-Sallum, thus ending the isolation of the northwestern coast, which had been excluded from the national media system for more than 20 years.

A television transmission booster station is being completed in Siwah and it will start operating in the first quarter of 1983. Radio transmission booster stations

are also being erected to link all areas of the governorate to the nationwide stations, and the Matruh media center is being bolstered with the most modern mobile desert media caravans and modern communications equipment.

#### Tourist Activity

In the field of tourist activity, the Siwah road is being paved so that Siwah can be opened up to domestic and foreign tourists. Tourist planning for the al-Abyad and Cleopatra coasts has also been completed, and the two have been linked to the 'Ajibah coast by paved road.

Operation of a civilian air route has started between Matruh and Cairo, and a Ministry of Tourism office is now being set up in Matruh to issue permits of different types to all hotels and tourist sites.

#### Agriculture and Land Reclamation

In the area of agriculture and land reclamation, livestock resource projects are being bolstered with the construction of feedlots in the village of Fukah and the purchase of calves for fattening. The project has cost 450,000 pounds.

Fully equipped launches have been purchased to bolster livestock resource projects at a cost of 61,000 pounds. Contract has also been reached to supply an automated egg facility producing 15 million eggs a year at a cost of 1.65 million pounds.

In addition, wells have been drilled in the area of al-Nujaylah and al-Dab'ah, dams have been erected around the spas, and 1,800 feddans have been newly planted at a cost of 118,000 pounds.

The lining of the Bahij canal and construction of a new residential village in the Abu Sharruf area of Siwah and a new residential village in the Umm al-Saghir section have also been completed.

#### Electricity

In the electricity sector, electricity systems have been consolidated and completed in Marsa Matruh, al-Hamam, al-Dab'ah, and al-Sallum at a cost of 900,000 pounds. The line between al-Hamam and al-Gharbaniyat has been replaced at a cost of 19,000 pounds, and the construction of six stations has been completed in the villages of Fukah, Jalal, El Alamein, al-Nujaylah and Sid 'Abd-al-Rahman at costs of 210,000 pounds. Fuel tanks have also been built and 15 reserve diesel engines have been bought to electrify farms and small villages at a cost of 62,000 pounds.

A total of 30 kilometers of cables has been renovated at a cost of 295,000 pounds.

#### Planning

In the field of planning and organization, four new villages have been built, in Abu Lahw, al-Matah'i, Sidi Hasanayn and al-Gharbaniyat, and they have been provided with services of all forms. The area of the towns of al-Hamam, al-Dab'ah, Sidi

Barrani and al-Sallum has been increased at a cost of 100,000 pounds, streets have been paved in the towns of Marsa Matruh, al-Hama and al-Dab'ah at a cost of 292,000 pounds, the 'Alam al-Rum road has been paved, planning has been done for this area, and the entrance to Marsa Matruh has been modified.

#### Drinking Water

In the field of drinking water, three units in the Marsa Matruh water compression plant have been repaired and the 700-kilometer Western Desert water line is being built between Alexandria and Marsa Matruh.

Ground level and elevated water tanks have been built and the water system consolidated in Marsa Matruh at a cost of 735,000 pounds.

#### Housing

In the field of housing, 320 housing units have been completed at a cost of 309,000 pounds and a start has been made in constructing 368 low-cost housing units for 900,000 pounds.

In addition, there are 1,200 cooperative housing units for the Society of People with Low Incomes, 240 units for the Housing Construction Society in Marsa Matruh and 450 residential units which are being built in the west of the town.

#### Youth

In the field of youth services, youth centers have been completed in Sidi Barrani, al-Sallum, Sidi 'Abd-al-Rahman and Burj al-'Arab at a cost of 52,000 pounds, and the al-Sallum Club has been built at a cost of 48,000 pounds.

#### Social Care

In coping with the drought season which has resulted from a shortage of rainfall in the past 4 years, the sum of half a million pounds has been arranged through the Council of Ministers and three quarters of a million pounds through the Social Affairs /Department/ to compensate inhabitants.

#### Education

In the area of education, classrooms at various educational stages have been added at a cost of 100,000 pounds and four new schools are being built at a cost of 359,000 pounds.

Eng Sa'd Kamil, the secretary general, stated that projects would be carried out next January which were the conclusion of studies that Mr Yusri al-Shami, the governor of Matruh, had set out for the governorate's new planning, which is founded on economic bases centered on economic revival and natural welfare in the areas of construction, tourist activity, farming and population settlement.

At the end of the celebration the governorate of Matruh held on its National Holiday, all the leaders present renewed their oath of allegiance and pledged constant production.

The achievements which have been realized are the armor of sacrifice and generosity which the government has made available on behalf of the bedouins of the desert on their national holiday, whose celebration continued for more than 2 weeks, in which all the leaders of the people, and executive leaders, took part.

These were headed by Maj Gen Yusri al-Shami, the governor of Matruh; Maj Gen Ahmad Farahat Qutb, the director of security; 'Ali 'Abbas 'Isa, secretary of the National Party; Husayn Sulayman 'Abd-al-Qadir, chairman of the local People's Assembly; Sa'd Kamil, the secretary general; Ahmad Yasin, the assistant secretary general; Muhyi Sa'd, the mayor and head of the District of Matruh; and the chiefs and paramount sheikhs of the Awlad 'Ali tribes, who declared their absolute support for President Muhammad Husni Mubarak for the gratitude and appreciation the Egyptian government and its leader have shown the bedouins of the Western Desert, so that their people could be blessed with prosperity and growth.

11887

CSO: 4504/499

SUPREME JUDICIAL COUNCIL ISSUES NEW ISLAMIC, LEGAL INTERPRETATION

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 14 Sep 82 p 9

[Text] News Service: The center for religious questions of the Supreme Judicial Council announced 28 new religious questions of the judicial branch whose answers have been approved by the imam of the nation, the exalted religious jurist Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, and also Grand Ayatollah Golpayegani.

An informed official of the office of the center for religious questions of the Supreme Judicial Council said to our correspondent concerning the new religious questions of the judicial branch: Although all the questions were taken from such scholarly dissertations as "Tahrir al-Vasileh," if there is a question, the answer to which is unclear, this question is taken to Imam Khomeyni, the great leader, Grand Ayatollah Golpayegani, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, or some of the other sources of emulation to be approved and announced.

The text of the 28 new religious questions of the judicial branch are as follows:

[Question] Is there any religious prohibition against a childless couple who have no hope of having children adopting a child from a nursery, given that the supervisory office has followed the regulations and has approved of that couple as being moral, religious, unaddicted to narcotics, non-drinkers of alcohol, and as refraining from moral corruption?

Answer: There is no objection if the regulations are followed and it is made certain that the couple will bring up their adopted child in accordance with Islamic morality and will acquaint him with the religious principles.

[Question] In connection with the (above) question, when the child which the couple has adopted grows up, is he or she to be considered a mahram [person in the presence of whom one is not required to be veiled or person who is not required to be veiled



in the presence of] for the parents.? If not, what is the ruling?

Answer: The adopted child will not be considered a mahram even if he or she is brought up from the time of nursing, unless he or she is nursed by a relative of the adoptive parents, such as the sister of the adoptive mother or the wife of the husband's brother, for the period of time determined in religious dissertations, in which case, the child will be considered a mahram.

[Question] To preserve order in the society, certain laws and regulations have been forged (adopted) by the Islamic Republic of Iran. Can the violators of these laws be fined?

Answer: If the preservation of order supersedes the issuance and collection of a fine, there is no objection if caution is practiced.

[Question] Among numerous complainants, some have given consent to withdraw their complaints and some have not. What is the ruling?

Answer: The religious ruling must be carried out with regard to the guilty party in those cases where such consent has not been given.

[Question] Are bonds and bail permissible before investigations are completed?

Answer: If it is determined that by not taking bonds or bail, the rights of others will be violated, there is no objection to taking them.

[Question] Is autopsy for the purpose of proving a crime sanctioned by religious law?

Answer: If the upholding of someone's rights depends upon an autopsy and the importance of those rights outweighs that of respect for the body, there is no objection, provided the most important issues are taken into consideration.

[Question] What is the ruling on autopsy for scientific purposes?

Answer: If the preservation of the life of a Muslim or a number of Muslims depends upon the autopsy of a corpse, and if an autopsy on a non-Muslim is not possible, taking these two factors into consideration, an autopsy is permissible. However, if it is for purely scientific purposes or if there is an alternative

possibility of performing an autopsy on a non-Muslim, it is not permissible.

[Question] What is the punishment for theft and what punishment should be carried out with regard to thieves?

Answer: If the price of the stolen goods is one-fourth a dinar in gold coin currency, with the eight provisions mentioned in scholarly dissertations, after the robbery has been proven, if the owner of the goods requests of the religious judge that the sentence be carried out, the religious judge will carry out the religious punishment. However, if all the conditions are not met or the owner of the goods does not request the execution of the sentence, the religious judge can, in accordance with what he deems proper, and practicing caution, reduce the sentence, if the theft has been proven.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning the evacuation of a shop or house after the term of the lease has expired in the case of the owner having another house or shop?

Answer: If the case is such that upon the expiration of the lease, the renter loses all his rights to the lease and, in accordance with religious laws, he would have no other rights, if the lessor so demands, it must be evacuated, unless doing so would cause corruption and disturbance, in which case, refusal to evacuate would depend on the ruling of the guardian religious jurist.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning a deserting party in a marriage who has left his dependents and which marriage has resulted in divorce by decree of the court?

Answer: After all the conditions are met and the set time period has elapsed, the religious judge issues his ruling of divorce in accordance with the religious injunctions. The divorce procedure is carried out by proxy of the religious judge and is performed as would any divorce but with the power of attorney granted by the religious judge.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning a minor by religious law who has intentionally or unintentionally caused bodily injury to another?

Answer: If it is intentional, it is considered an offense and the fine must be paid by the adult.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning marriage with a non-Muslim?



Answer: A Muslim woman is not permitted to marry a non-Muslim under any circumstances whether the person is a Jew or a Christian, an infidel or an apostate, neither on a temporary nor a permanent basis. However, a Muslim man may marry a Jewish or Christian woman, but only on a temporary and not a permanent basis.

[Question] Can a woman be a judge or a prosecutor?

Answer: One of the requirements for a judge is that he be a male. A woman cannot pass judgement or be a judge. However, in preliminary judicial affairs such as investigations and interrogations, there is no objection.

[Question] What is the ruling in regards to the increase in the rate of "lock" money?

Answer: When the renter has the right to receive the lock money and transfer the property to a third party or the owner, there is no objection to receiving lock money even though it may be more than the amount initially paid.

[Question] Is the option of dissolution permissible in settlements?

Answer: Except for natural options, assembly options, and delay options, other options such as conditional options, fraud options, procedural options, and fault options are permissible and effective in settlements.

[Question] Are the previous injunctions implementable?

Answer: If they are not against the sacred religious laws of Islam, there is no objection.

[Question] Is unintentional injury to or assault on others punishable in any other way than the payment of a fine?

Answer: There is no other punishment than the payment of the fine with the consent of the complainant.

[Question] What is the ruling in regards to damage to government property?

Answer: The perpetrator of damage to government property shall be responsible for paying damages to the treasury and if the damage has been intentional, the religious judge will issue punishment, except in the event that the government property has been entrusted to him and he was not responsible for the damage or neglect, in which case, he will not be charged.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning the embezzlement of government property?

Answer: The embezzler must return all the stolen property to the government treasury. In accordance with the opinion and judgment of the religious judge, punishment is permissible in order to prevent further such actions.

[Question] From a general standpoint, what is the ruling on breaking a trust and fraud if the complainant gives his consent to drop the charges?

Answer: If the complainant gives consent, there is no punishment unless the religious judge determines that the accused is a fraud repeater and that his offense would cause disorder in the society or its destruction, in which case, in order to preserve order in the society, punishment is permissible with the ruling of the religious judge practicing caution.

[Question] During the reign of the tyrannical regime, girls under 15 and boys under 18 were not permitted to marry. What is the ruling at the present time?

Answer: Anyone who reaches the religious age of adulthood, both boys and girls, may marry unless they are ill or physically so small that marriage would cause irreparable illness or physical damage.

[Question] What is the punishment for false accusation and slander?

Answer: If the false accusation is of adultery or a homosexual act, the accuser and slanderer must be punished with 80 lashes and if the false accusation concerns other than adultery or a homosexual act, such as false accusations of drinking wine or gambling, the punishment should not be 80 lashes; the religious judge can reduce the sentence to any amount less than 80 lashes.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning a piece of land that the City Hall has confiscated without religious claim?

Answer: If according to religious law the land belongs to another, the City Hall cannot take the land away and turn it into a park. However, if the land has become a garbage dump or a polluted area as a result of the owner's neglect, without his having built on it, such that it would endanger the health of the neighborhood, in such a case, the religious judge will force him to clean up the property, build on it, or sell it. If these are refused and none of these steps are taken, the land may be sold by the permission of the grand sources of emulation and the price given to its owner.

[Question] What is the punishment for possessing illegal firearms?

Answer: The possession of illegal firearms is not permitted and the religious judge may sentence as he sees fit.

[Question] What is the punishment for illegal hunting?

Answer: Hunting is permitted by Islam at any place and time, unless it is for the purpose of games and entertainment, in which case, it is forbidden. However, the laws and regulations of the Islamic Republic must also be followed.

[Question] If there is a person with various kinds of arms in his possession who claims that he acquired them when the imam instructed to do so and was not informed later that he should turn them in and he claims that he needs them to protect his life, property, and sheep, what is the ruling?

Answer: He must return all the arms in his possession to the government. If he has not misused the arms and his claims are proven to be true, he will be exonerated of the past charges. However, in regards to the future, the law enforcement officials must decide after consulting the religious judge whether or not to give him a firearms license.

[Question] What is the ruling concerning tampering with the date of marriage?

Answer: Tampering with dates or government documents or changing dates or other items is not permissible and the violator must be punished.

[Question] A ruling has already been issued and a request made for the confiscation of property. What is the ruling?

Answer: Other than the religious exceptions, the debt can be taken from the remainder of the property.

9593

CSO: 4640/487

# SISTAN-BALUCHESTAN GET NINETY KILOMETERS OF NEW ROADS

Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Engr Kordi, director general of roads and transport of Sistan-Baluchestan]

[Text] Since the beginning of the current year, 60 km of paved roads and more than 90 km of rural roads have been constructed in the Province of Sistan-Baluchestan. Along the rural roads, about 70 crossover bridges have been built by the central office of roads and transport.

Engineer Kordi, the director general of roads and transport of Sistan-Baluchestan, made the above announcement in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY in Zahedan and in regards to the developmental funds of the central office for this year, he said: The developmental funds of the central office of roads and transport of Sistan-Baluchestan for the current year amount to a total of 2.5 billion rials, of which 790 million rials are for building urgently needed roads, 430 million rials for rural roads, 300 million rials for the upkeep of roads, and 900 million rials for rebuilding and repairing roads which have been destroyed by floods. He added: The operations which began last year to build 40 km of rural road in Chashmeh Ziarat, a suburb of Zahedan, have been completed and the road is now in use. Presently, the asphaltting operations of that road have also begun. He added: Since the beginning of the current year, the road bedding operations for 36 km of the rural road from Zabolzahak to Edimi have been completed and the asphaltting operations have begun, and the road will be ready for use by the end of the current year. The general director of roads and transport of Sistan-Baluchestan said to the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY concerning the construction of rural roads: The construction of rural roads throughout the Province of Sistan-Baluchestan in order to connect the villages more than ever before will soon begin. The completion of the rural roads from Chashmeh Ziarat to Shur and Qal'eh Bid to Gowhar Kuh, Bazman, a suburb of Zahedan and Khash, which consist of a total of 350 km, of which 40 km have been completed, will span a large

section of the important agricultural area of this city. On the other hand, considering that the Port of Chahbahar will be an active port with the construction of several piers, the operations for widening the Chahbahar-Iranshahr road will start early next year. Presently, four groups of consulting engineers are studying ways to widen this road. The director general of roads and transport of the Province of Sistan-Baluchestan added: The construction operations for the main Zahedan-Birjand highway, which is 150 km long, with funds amounting to 500 million rials, have also begun. Also, the Bazman-Delgan road, which is 57 km long, will be in use very soon in the Baluchestan area. In connection with the installation of traffic signs and driving on these roads, he said: In the current year, more than 13 million rials have been allocated to install traffic signs along the roads.

9593

CSO: 4640/489

NEKA POWER COMBINE SCHEDULED TO INCREASE OUTPUT

Tehran BURS in Persian 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Energy Ghafuri-Fard]

[Text] With the operation of four units of the Martyr Salimi power plant, NEKA, which will be put into operation by the end of this year, more than one-fourth of the country's electricity will be provided.

Brother Ghafuri-Fard, the minister of Energy, announced the above statement in an interview with the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY and added: Presently, this power plant produces 35-40 percent of its capacity in electricity. Concerning the progress of the work of the power plant, he pointed out: The power plant is about to be completed. Only a few problems remain before the operation begins. Presently, two units of the power plant are in operation and of these two units, one has minor technical problems which are being worked on and will soon be operational and the fourth unit needs to be chloridized. The chloride is ready and we could say that about 99 percent of the preparations are completed. There remains only the problem of fuel. By the end of this year, everything will be completed and the whole unit will be operational.

Concerning the present difficulties of the power plant, the minister of energy said: Fuel and chloridizing have caused certain problems. These units were designed to be fueled by natural gas. Since presently, natural gas is not available, we use mazut instead.

In the area of procuring electricity and water for the war-stricken regions, brother Ghafuri-Fard said: Electricity and water for all the war-stricken regions, including Ahvaz, Abadan, Khuninshahr, Susangerd, Hoveyzeh, Bostan, and Shush, are presently provided and there are no problems in this regard. Before the inhabitants of the areas return, all the work will be completed.



Concerning the water for the agricultural areas of the country, especially the north, the minister of energy said: One of our problems is that a great part of the Safidrud Dam in Gilan is filled with sediments and does not hold water fully. To prevent the formation of these sediments, we have two plans. First is to hold the water by planting trees and other technical means, and the second is to build dams. He added: In the upper parts of the Safidrud Dam area and in water outreach, in places where it is possible, we will use underground water. We must be extremely frugal in using agricultural and drinking water because our water projects are extremely expensive in many respects.

The minister of energy continued this interview about the electricity outreach activities of the Ministry of Energy and pointed out: Since the victory of the revolution, more than 5,000 villages have joined the national electricity network. This figure is much larger than the number of villages with electricity before the revolution, which were about 4,400. Presently, five villages are given electricity and light every day, which comes to an annual figure of 1,500 villages. In conclusion, he said about the intention of his trip to Mazandaran: NEKA power plant is one of the largest power plants in the Middle East; hence, it is necessary for us to come at least once every year or every six months to inspect this power plant closely. This time, we have come to inspect the large power station and become more acquainted with it and at the same time, to study the problem of fueling.

9593

CSO: 4640/490



# NUMEROUS BUILDINGS COMPLETED IN ESFAHAN PROVINCE

Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Sep 82 p 8

[Interview with deputy chief of the Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade of Esfahan Province]

[Text] The Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade of Esfahan Province has thusfar completed and put into use 874 building projects. The deputy chief of the Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade of Esfahan Province announced this statement in an interview with the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. The completed projects include 27 schools, 282 baths, 84 mortuary washhouses, and 356 miscellaneous projects. He added: A total of 763 other projects, including schools, baths, mortuary washhouses, mosques, and other needed projects, have been completed or repaired with the help of the self-sufficiency crusaders in this province. The total number of repaired and completed projects during this period amounts to 1,647 buildings in the villages.

The chief of the Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade said: Also, with the very close cooperation of the regional electrical company, power outreach to 67 villages has been completed and electricity has been provided for 94 wells. Among other activities, he pointed out the construction of more than 480 km of rural roads by this Committee and said that in the construction operations of these roads, 310 concrete bridges and 530 pipe bridges have also been built. Brother Rasul Zagarpur explained the programs and the organization of the Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade and said: This Committee consists of six separate units, including road construction, water outreach, power outreach, mine construction, designs, and machinery. In addition to the above, since the beginning of the activities of the Reconstruction Crusade, it has constructed 193 and repaired or completed 80 water outreach networks. These projects were carried out to make the drinking water of the villages safe. The distance of the water resources to the villages, population, and social and economic issues have also been taken into consideration. He added: Also in connection with the economic and social issues at the request of the people, the Reconstruction Crusade has taken over the supervision of 13

mines in the province which had shut down after the victory of the revolution. Presently, they are all in operation and their production level is satisfactory. In regards to the programs and planning policies of this Committee in the future, he said: Before the imposed war, serving the needs of the deprived villages in this province was the main item on the agenda of this Committee. For this reason, more attention has been paid to the deprived areas such as Fereydun, Semirom, Hur, Biabanak, and Natanz. However, after the war started, a large portion of these forces went to war and the responsibility for the engineering section of the fronts was conferred upon this Committee, which caused stagnation in the area of procuring the needs of the villagers. God willing, in the near future, with the final victory of the Islamic combatants over the infidels of Saddam, the work of the reconstruction of the villages which has been conferred on the Reconstruction Crusade will be compensated for.

Referring to the main goal of the Reconstruction Crusade, which is to spread Islamic culture by accomplishing all these tasks, he said: Since in the future, the general policy of the government will center on agricultural development, presently, the work of the Building Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade is concentrated on the building of harbors, canals, and other water outreach projects which are in coordination with the fundamental 20-year production and economic plans.

9593

CSO: 4640/489

MANY NEW DWELLINGS PLANNED FOR SISTAN-BALUCHESTAN

Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Sep p 8

[Text] In the current year, more than 2,649,470,000 rials have been allocated to the Central Office of Housing and Urban Development of Sistan-Baluchestan.

Hushmand Arman, the director general of housing and urban development of this Province, announced this statement in an interview with the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY and said: Some of the above-mentioned projects consist of 289 inexpensive houses with funds amounting to 79,181,000 million rials, 850 housing complexes with funds amounting to 310.24 million rials, 221 organizational houses with funds amounting to 217 million rials, 105 organizational houses for teachers with funds amounting to 133 million rials, 23 organizational houses for the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic with funds amounting to 50 million rials, 27 organizational houses for customs with funds amounting to 33 million rials, 5 organizational houses for the department of silos with funds amounting to 6.6 million rials, 15 organizational houses for southern fisheries with funds amounting to 21 million rials, 39 houses for the survivors of martyrs with funds amounting to 78 million rials, 17 organizational houses for the gendarmerie with funds amounting to 54 million rials located in Pasabandar, the vocational training center of Zahedan with funds amounting to 23,345,000 rials, 17 construction projects for gendarmerie facilities with funds amounting to 173,617,000 rials, 2 tourism complex projects and 5 government building projects with funds amounting to 47 million rials, and the health and welfare construction projects, including 4 projects with funds amounting to 59 million rials. He added: In the course of the current year, 7 of the above-mentioned projects were completed and put into operation with funds amounting to about 240 million rials. Also, the operations for the implementation of 12 new projects with funds amounting to 300 million rials will begin this year.

9593

CSO: 4640/489

## MINE CLEARING, PREPARATIONS FOR WINTER OCCUPY IDF ENGINEERS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 20 Aug 82 pp 7-9

[Article by Roman Prister: "Clearing A Way"]

[Text] An anonymous Lebanese girl looked at the soldiers from out of a gilded frame. Her face was delicate, her hair fell over her shoulders, her blouse was made of white lace. She was certainly not from a poor family. The soldiers grabbed a moment of rest, sinking deeply into the sofa and armchairs to relax, unshaven and weary. Through a wide window, the shutters of which were half-closed as a single measure against sniper fire, there was reflected a depressing urban landscape: a majestic village in disintegration, damaged and soot-covered structures with empty doorways and windows like the eyes of the blind, dark, without panes, without doorposts. The officer Spiegel, a man with glasses, commander of a Golani unit, chose this apartment for the most forward observation position in this region of Beirut. And who is the girl in the picture? Perhaps the daughter or perhaps the wife of a pilot in the Lebanese airline company who had been living here for some time. The company's airplanes are stuck next to the airport terminal; clipped-wing birds with the symbol of the land of the cedars on the tail. And when the planes are grounded, who needs pilots? The man, therefore, fled for his life, the devil knows when, where, and with whom. Perhaps with the young wife in the picture. Spiegel did not dwell on it; he had no time for foolishness. Within spitting distance the terrorists were still digging in. Someone in the room interjected: Perhaps tomorrow the evacuation will begin. Someone else responded: That will be tomorrow, but who will prevent them from squeezing the trigger today? A Lebanese radio announcer reported that a group of UN observers had entered the city under the nose of the Israelis and were located in the B'ir Hasan quarter. "B'ir Hasan happens to be right here," explains the bespectacled Spiegel. But what will the UN'ers do if the shooting starts, and who needs them at all in the area? They should go to hell. And the tension continues.

At this moment of quiet, real or imagined, Spiegel invites Eytan, the commander of an engineer unit, in for a cup of coffee. Only one who is thoroughly knowledgeable of the IDF way of life and knows the enormous importance which the Golani men attach to the name of their brigade is able to understand the significance of the gesture which Spiegel makes when he points to Eytan and says: "My guys fought like lions, but his guys, they are the real heroes of this war."

On the way to this building Eytan passed by the Al-Awza'i section which was occupied in a bloody battle. The main street was still not cleared of mines. The terrorists had spread them like confetti at a New Year's party. The sappers of the Engineer Corps had advanced on it slowly, probing carefully in the ground and the asphalt, checking packages suspected of being booby-trapped, and peering into holes, a souvenir of the shelling of 1 or 2 days ago. One careless probe could be enough to activate the death-plate concealed in the street. The terrorists learned how to attach an additional explosive charge to the anti-tank mines which would be activated by the slightest pressure. The sun was broiling and the perspiration seeped out from under the black jackets and helmets of the soldiers. It was grueling and nerve-racking work.

At a distance of about 100 meters the sappers were followed by men, women, and children--residents of al-Awza'i who were hurrying to return to their homes. At times, stormy debates and even fights broke out among the returnees who apparently were not always careful about distinguishing between their property and the property of others and took with them everything that came to hand. "Tomorrow a civilian aid unit is supposed to come here, and it will make some order out of the confusion," smiles the company commander who was standing at the side, wearing a blue tennel hat instead of a helmet.

Less than 24 hours ago a combined force of armor and armored infantry stormed this quarter while among the tanks and the APC's, virtually at the head of the attack column, a yellow gigantic monster stood out--a D-8 civilian bulldozer. On one of its sides one could make out the letters "QQL" [the first letters of the three Hebrew words meaning Jewish National Fund] despite the fact that this was not exactly the work of the Jewish National Fund. Ten such heavy vehicles were mobilized for the campaign in Lebanon, and their operators made their mark on many pages in the golden book of the war. For some reason, only a few bothered to read them.

Even now, during the lull, the bulldozers continued with the removal of obstacles and the clearing of new approach routes to the forward positions. Ya'aqov Shoshani, in civilian life an instructor in the Betzalel Art School in Jerusalem, holds the levers of his D-8, and the roaring steel beast sounds like a domesticated kitten to him. At a press conference held a week ago in Tel Aviv, Maj Gen Avishai Katz, the chief engineer officer, stated that the bulldozer operators on the front line were equipped with special protective suits. However, they have not yet seen the "knight's armor", and as of now, Ya'aqov Shoshani still remains exposed without a turret. Moreover, in the front windshield there can clearly be seen a round hole made by a sniper's bullet, and it is reasonable to assume that it hit in the front of the driver's compartment. About 20 bulldozer operators were wounded in the battles for Beirut.



## The Good, the Bad, and Philip Habib

Ras Beirut, the capital city of Lebanon, is located several hundred meters north of here. In the last week before the cease-fire, the soldiers of the Engineer Corps of Eytan's unit saw the block of houses and skyscrapers as if they were looking through a zoom lens. It came closer every day. Eytan: "I don't know what the military historians will call it. Among us it was always referred to as crawling into Beirut. We acquired our first combat experience in a built-up area in 'Ayn al-Hulwah. It was difficult. We had three wounded, and one sergeant was killed. This was also the case in Beirut. In front of us were 15-story apartment and office buildings with no elevator."

Now it was quiet, but the tall buildings remained standing, and no one knows for certain what tomorrow will bring. From the main street of Al-Awza'i one cannot see the Galerie Samaan crossing, through which Shafiq al-Wazzan's luxury car speeds every day, and one cannot hear Philip Habib's words said in the inner sanctum. One hopes for the best and plans for the worst. The present quiet reminds Eytan of the previous lull, one that lasted for almost 2 weeks.

"The route which my unit is now clearing to B'ir Hasan began for us, in a certain sense, south of Beaufort and also in the vicinity of the 'Aqiya Bridge because in these two places we began the war. As is customary in the IDF, my unit split up, and parts of it joined the various attacking forces. About 2 weeks before the occupation of the airport, we reached the outskirts of Kfar Sil. The battle for the village began almost like foolishness and ended in a sophisticated manner with the coordinated effort of the Golani armor, the artillery, and the engineer troops who functioned as fighters in every respect. Initially we reached the area of the villas in Doha, apparently an affluent quarter because every villa attested to the wealth of its occupants. However, we did not have time to enjoy the sight of the beautiful villas. From the hills east of the coastal road, we were fired upon with flat trajectory fire and many missiles. The firing was accurate, and I immediately understood that we were involved with the Syrian army. The Syrians are disciplined enemy, not like the terrorists. We were forced to leave the APC's and continue on foot because in the side-streets of the village the APC's were a very vulnerable target. The tanks moved in back of us. The commandos and the 85th Division began to score hits on us. We had many wounded. Suddenly I noticed that my sergeant, who was left alone in the area, was exposed to the fire. He was wounded in the hand and lost his personal weapon. One of the tankers threw him a Galil rifle. The sergeant took off his flak jacket and began to run like crazy to a place of concealment across the road. Two other soldiers of my unit were badly wounded there, and another one named Shlomi lost a hand and an eye. He lay for 2 days in the recovery room of the Rambam Hospital in Haifa. We worried about him and we breathed easier when it was reported to us that in spite of everything, he would live. One wounded was left with an amputated arm, and I saw the other with a large cast on his arm. The executive officer of my company was killed. The commander of this company had been killed earlier in the battle for Beaufort.

"Toward evening we returned to the beautiful villas in Doha, and at night our engineer mission began. We went out with three bulldozers and a group of fighters in order to clear a way which would permit our tanks to outflank the Syrian armor located in (Kfar Sil). At dawn, at daybreak the IDF tankers opened fire from a distance of about a total of 50 meters and destroyed the Syrian vehicles one by one. I think that until the last moment they did not understand how the Israeli armor had appeared in back of them."

With the occupation of (Kfar Sil), the unit had, as was said, about a 2-week lull, and Eytan remembers that "there was a feeling that it was the end of the war." As a commander, he was concerned about a drop in the discipline and arranged to introduce a training program. There was also a little activity in the building of ramps for the Armored Corps. Everything was going smoothly until the day when a soldier was killed by a sniper. Eytan: "We suddenly learned that a lull does not mean the end of the war. The sniper fire and the steady artillery fire began to disturb us day and night. From the reporters and the radio we knew that there were disputes in Israel: attrition or not attrition. For me, you can even call it Shmulik, it does not change the simple fact that it was war and men were being killed. I was concerned that the decrease in preparedness was likely to cause us additional casualties. The soldiers began to involve themselves with the statistics of the wounded and killed, and I reached the conclusion that heart-to-heart talks were likely to clear the air."

"We were still holding these talks, the commanders with their troops, when the order came for 'the crawling' into Beirut. In the first jump we arrived west of the Al-Awza'i quarter. In the second jump we advanced to the athletic area and Burj Al-Barajinah. When we were sitting in the terminal building of the airport, between the Lufthansa counter and that of the Saudi Airlines, we breathed for a moment the atmosphere of the big world. My men knelt down from great weariness. I was proud of my young people, most of whom were graduates of institutions for youth rehabilitation and who love whorehouses and cause trouble in times of quiet but who have no peer in working under fire. They led the force into the mined Al-Awza'i. Mortar fire increased the danger sevenfold. Every shell which fell also activated one or two mines. We tried to locate the sources of the firing, but we were unsuccessful. We had to accept the trouble and complete the work."

Actually, no one in the unit knew to what extent the work would be completed.

The meetings which would eventually lead to the election of a president. The multi-national force landing in Lebanon. And the undesirable UN observers not budging from their observation posts in B'ir Hasan. Eytan is not a fortune teller. In contrast, in the past he had a passing experience with a French officer from the UN forces.

"When we were checking the 'Aqiya Bridge over the Litani at the beginning of the operation, I suddenly encountered him. He was standing in the middle of the road and announced in all seriousness that without authorization



he would not permit us to pass. I looked at him and told him in my broken French: 'France is surely very precious to you. If you want to see it again with your very eyes, you should move out of my way.' When he continued to block our way, I added: 'You are an officer like me. Why don't you evaluate the balance of forces and draw conclusions?' It seems like finally he got smart, moved aside, and saluted us ceremoniously. My guys returned his salute and continued northward."

#### Secrets of the Land and Water

This week the Beirut sector was relatively quiet. The two sides tried to scrupulously maintain the cease-fire more than in the past, perhaps so as not to obstruct the efforts of the mediator, Philip Habib. However, along the western slopes of the Hermon the guns of the IDF and the Syrian and terrorist forces exchanged the customary requirements of war. There are those who maintain that with the completion of the evacuation of the terrorists from Beirut, the eastern sector will flare up with fierce fighting. Confidants of 'Arafat were quoted this week as saying that the war against the Zionist enemy will continue in the Lebanese valley. The Syrians will apparently transport there two brigades of the Palestine Liberation Army that are stuck in the besieged Beirut--the Hittin and Kasediyya Brigades. It is very likely, however, that the minister of defense will also want to bring the war against the PLO to a final conclusion on the battlefield. It was not in vain that he told the American journalist Jack Anderson that he does not believe in a "limited war." All of this is being heard, and Avraham's unit prepares for a hard winter season: for cold and shooting.

Exactly 10 years ago Avraham, then a low-ranking engineer officer, and Brig Gen Avishai Katz, then a lieutenant colonel, bent over aerial photographs of the region north of Metulla. The engineer intelligence worked a long time on the collection of data on the land beyond the borders. Geologists and photographic experts helped in preparing operational files for tens of contingency actions, beginning from the clearing of circumventing routes and ending with the rapid clearing of minefields. Despite this, because of a certain mistake in calculations (the routes through the village of Shab'a was more narrow than initially thought) it was necessary to clear one segment twice. Later the work was delayed because of an order from above: The political echelon, and perhaps the General Staff, had still not decided whether to go into a military confrontation also with the Syrians. This delay, so believes Avraham, the unit commander, contributed to discoveries in the area. Dado Berkowitz, a bulldozer operator relates:

"I was working as usual when someone threw a stone in the window of the bulldozer. They wanted to attract my attention to a Syrian helicopter circling over us. When I am in the compartment, I hear nothing but the noise of the engine. My D-8 was a mobilized vehicle, equipped with an air conditioner, and it also makes plenty of noise. The next day I went over a mine and didn't feel it. Suddenly I saw dust entering my compartment through the shattered rear windshield. I turned off the engine, and it was only then that I heard the shouts of the infantry troops who were providing

security for the work: 'Don't move, you are in a minefield!' But this was short and in less than 1/4 of an hour I continued as if nothing had happened. This is both luck and danger when a bulldozer operator in the Armored Corps does not know that they are firing at him until he is hit."

In contrast, Avraham knew that the Syrian helicopter had detected those who were clearing the route: "My men continued the work, but I noticed a slight change in their conduct. From that moment they were careful to put on flak jackets and wear helmets." The jackets and the helmets were extremely useful because in the 2 days remaining for the completion of the clearing they were subject to intense artillery fire, and Sagger missiles also were flying around like flies. The battalion executive officer was wounded by fragments and evacuated to a hospital in the rear, but when the clearing force reached the twelfth kilometer, the officers and troops found out that the Syrian army was also doing some thinking: Its engineer units apparently foresaw what the IDF had planned as a complete surprise and had time to block the continuation of the route with a mined anti-tank ditch! "We quickly overcame the obstacle, but the element of surprise went down the drain," said Berkowitz.

The region in which Avraham's unit was positioned is hilly, rocky, and very dry. It is an eyesore and is not good for the soul. The many excursionists who come to Lebanon generally prefer to enjoy the beauty of the hills of the ihuf in the vicinity of Jazzin or Dayr al-Qamar. But war is not a family excursion, and the men of the unit understand that their area is likely to be a future battlefield. Therefore, they are now working to build fortifications and clear approach routes to the forward positions in anticipation of any kind of trouble. The checking of dirt roads is also among the daily tasks. Teams of terrorists manage from time to time to lay mines here and there, and without their alertness the Lord only knows what would happen.

They are not a large unit since the Armored Corp does not operate in battalions or brigades as is customary for the other IDF branches. The fragmentation makes it difficult to create a spirit of common fate and comradeship, but it does not adversely affect the pride of the soldier. Avraham relates: "During training they treated us a little like step-children. I remember cases where we laid blue dummy mines which were intended to be a serious obstacle in the area, but the brigade commanders nullified our work with the wave of a hand and said: 'OK, we understand the principle, and now don't delay the attack.' Here, in southern Lebanon, the mines were no longer blue-colored, and when the first tanks were damaged in the minefields, the senior commanders changed their tone of voice: 'All right, don't rush, remove these blasted mines.' And we removed them--rapidly. We have special equipment and there are certain methods about which it is better not to say anything."

Who Is the Commander Here?

For several years there have been exhausting discussions in the IDF staff about the structure of the Armored Corps. In the past the dominant concept was that the higher command structures were sufficient to guarantee the

security, the force, and the morale which are characteristic qualities of large units. The chief engineer officer maintained that in the Yom Kippur War two commanders of engineer battalions were very instrumental in determining the outcome of the campaign. "Had we failed in the crossing battle," he argued, "it is likely that they would have defeated the entire State of Israel." It became evident that in actual battle conditions a low-ranking officer bears enormous responsibility which has no relationship at all to the size of the force. And he asked: "What would we then do with the large headquarters? Would they solve the problems and provide good suggestions to the battalion and company commanders by the method of long distance control of radio communications?" Sometimes one looks for a coin underneath the flashlight because the light is there. This is not the case with the IDF. Those who argued that "the company commander is too low a rank to decide" were finally answered that "the army must be built according to the missions and not according to the flashlights, and if it is precisely the company commander who must make the crucial decisions in the area of engineering, we must train him accordingly and give him the requisite equipment." About 18 months ago the chief of the General Staff adopted the concept according to which the dominant structures will be precisely the smaller ones that will operate in mobile combat, integrated with the attacking forces.

However, there remains another problem which is still waiting for a solution. In times of emergency the IDF mobilizes the heavy engineering equipment, and it is not only the dirt-moving contractors who cry foul. The Armored Corp people are also unfortunate. The multiplicity of models makes proper maintenance difficult. Since the bulldozers are not adapted for war conditions, their operators remain exposed to enemy fire. "A large tractor costs less than a tank. If it is possible to maintain hundreds of tanks in a state of readiness, why can't the IDF procure 20 or 30 special engineer vehicles and park them in emergency depots for any contingency?" wonders Avraham.

Now the command is looking to the more distant future, beyond the war in Lebanon. The new danger on the horizon: modern obstacles (see inset).

In the meantime, however, the grim reality continues in the eastern sector. In the early hours of the morning, Avigdor Bar-Yosef (whose picture is on the cover of the supplement), a smiling youth from Qiryat Gat, goes out with his friend to screen the path which leads to the camp. The radio reports at that time about the efforts of Bashir Jumayyil to be elected president of Lebanon and about the talks of the leader of the Maronite Phalangists with his sworn enemies--the Syrian leaders whose support he needs like air for breathing. On Thursday it is learned that the elections have been postponed for 5 days. Why? The devil knows. Perhaps because of the firing of the terrorists on the Mansur Palace. Avigdor finds it difficult to understand this confusion. Perhaps it is because the subject here is not mines in the engineer area but rather political mines.

5830

CSO: 4423/215

USEFULNESS OF COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION QUESTIONED

Amman AL-UFUQ in Arabic No 17, 28 Jul 82 - 3 Aug 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Fahd al-Fanik: "Jordan's Cooperative Organization Invested Tens of Millions of Dinars to No Avail; Cooperation Means Relying on the Government and not on Oneself"]

[Text] No one can make an accurate estimate of the full cost of the cooperative organization; nor can anyone determine the total funds that have been paid to it since it was established. My own personal conservative estimate puts these costs at over 100 million dinars. These were either recurrent expenditures, development expenditures or capital expenditures, etc.

If the course of the present 5-Year Plan remains problem free, about 20 million additional dinars will be spent on the organization and its projects. Almost half of this sum will come directly from the general budget, and the rest will come from aid and loans. This does not include the current expenses of the organization's agencies which are growing every year and which are difficult to estimate. In 5 years the organization has generated less than 2 million dinars of its own finances, and the rest has created budget deficit and waste at the expense of the state's public treasury.

When the new 5-Year Development Plan for 1981-1985 tried to discuss the accomplishments of the various sectors of the economy during the years of the previous plan, 1976-1980, it found nothing positive worth mentioning about the cooperative sector. It complained about the fact that a large part of the financial resources that are available to the state are earmarked to that sector, especially in the area of agriculture. The document discussed the problems of cooperation in Jordanian society, which has come to mean relying on the government and not relying on oneself as required. This applies to cooperative societies and to the cooperative organization itself. It is to be noted that negligence, reliance on others and not relying on oneself are completely opposite the goals of cooperation.

The plan finally condemns the cooperative sector for its inability to achieve its goals and for its failure to create specialized cooperative societies that would serve specific economic and social sectors.

Although the primary objective of the cooperative organization is to stimulate



production and self-reliance, it has become the formal means by which government subsidies, easy-term loans, tax exemptions and exemptions from fees that apply to all citizens can be guaranteed. This is due to the policy [pursued by] the cooperative organization, and it is true even if the cooperative society were a consumer society, a commercial one or a real estate one.

The most important duty sitting on the shoulders of the organization at the present time has to do with financing agricultural machinery. This financing process is something that the Agricultural Credit Organization should be able to do, and it should be able to do more if the sum of 15 million dinars were allocated to it, instead of throwing that money over the next 5 years into the bottomless pit that is called the cooperative organization, as the plan indicates.

The time has come for using a scalpel and for cutting off the excess fat that at one time emerged in the Jordanian economy. The Jordanian economy became bloated, and then it became an end in itself after failing miserably to achieve its objectives. It then turned into a means for spending money without any concrete productive return.

If the *raison d'etre* of the cooperative societies is to provide administrative supervision over cooperative societies, such supervision can be carried out by a small department like that which monitors companies in the Ministry of Industry and Trade. This department oversees the affairs of all public and private companies. Such a department can also be like that department in the Ministry of Social Development which oversees the affairs of all charitable societies in the kingdom. There is no need for a high cost organization that we call the Jordanian Cooperative Organization.

It is the misfortune of the agricultural sector in Jordan that the large sums of money earmarked by the state for its development and progress go through numerous unrelated and unintegrated organizations which have not proven their benefit or their usefulness in achieving their objectives.

In addition to the Jordanian Cooperative Organization, this applies to the Jordan Valley Authority and the Agricultural Products Marketing Organization. It applies to a lesser extent to the Agricultural Credit Organization and to the various departments of the Ministry of Agriculture itself.

It seems to me that Jordan's agricultural policy is in dire need for fundamental reconsideration. It is absolutely unacceptable that hundreds of millions of valuable dinars continue being spent in the present manner. So far, the result of that has been an agricultural sector that yields only 60 million dinars a year, which makes up only 7.4 percent of the GNP at market prices.

We've never heard anyone say that the agricultural sector in Jordan has come to a dead end; that it cannot be developed and modernized; or that its production cannot be doubled. The problem then has to lie with the official agencies that are charged with this function. The problem has to lie in the fact that the agricultural policy, which links all these agencies and coordinates their activities so as to increase production, is unsound or non-existent.



JORDAN'S ROLE AFTER CRISIS IN LEBANON VIEWED

Amman AL-UFUQ in Arabic No 17, 28 Jul 82 - 3 Aug 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Tariq Masariwah: "What Do We Do after Beirut?"]

[Text] Because so far we have not been able to comprehend the opportunity that the "besieged steadfastness of the Palestinian Resistance in Beirut has provided for the Arabs; because we have not been able to turn Lebanon into a trap which we could use to wear out the Israeli army in a people's liberation war that would turn the situation from a siege of Palestinians in Beirut to a siege of the Israelis in Lebanon; because we are still taking the Zionist military solution which is supported by the United States along with an Arab political solution supported by the United States; and because of this and other reasons we have found ourselves in AL-UFUQ asking a number of our citizens a question that begins in [the following manner]:

"What do we do after Beirut?"

The question begins, "What do we have to do here in Jordan after Beirut?"

Because of what we did and didn't do, Palestinians have found themselves asking [these questions]: "What do we do after Beirut? What do we do now? Where do the Palestinians go in the next phase? What should be done and focused on in the light of the invasion of Lebanon and the siege of the Resistance in Beirut?"

We heard no such questions from Damascus even though Damascus, the Palestinians and we are in the same predicament.

We heard no similar questions from Lebanon even though Shafiq al-Wazzan, who is now representing the beautiful Arab side of Lebanon, made many brave and patriotic statements.

We admit with sorrow--as we in AL-UFUQ raise that question--and as Palestinians ask the question, that we are unconsciously discussing matters as though Beirut, the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Resistance were on their way to extinction. We make this admission for the record to our nation and about our Arab conditions because we were not able to turn Lebanon into [another] Vietnam. We were not able to turn the Zionist presence into a U.S. presence. We did not

place tens of thousands of young men carrying Kalashnikovs and R.P.G.'s all over the mountains of Lebanon. We did not seize [the opportunity] to put an end to the Zionist force and the American military machinery.

Let us now go back to the report on the Jordanian scene that AL-UFUQ started.

What do we do after Beirut? What are we to do here in Jordan? How do we put Jordanian affairs in order so we can fall--if an aggression against us is decided--with honor and dignity? How can we turn the hills, cities and camps of Jordan into a graveyard for any Israeli attack? Unfortunately, it is no longer possible now to count on Arabs.

Let us go back to AL-UFUQ's report and say, "We laid out our questions to a large number of people of different schools of thought and ideologies in our country, and we let them answer freely, even though we do not agree with many opinions that came to us. All those who sent replies were patriotic and nationalistic citizens; none of them tried to outdo the other. What was important in this process, which was initiated by our colleague, Maryud al-Tall, was that a national opinion come out of [the privacy of] people's living rooms and become public. Such a national opinion was to shift from being expressed on social occasions and become the subject of debate.

Among the papers of our man Wasfi al-Tall, a man we and the Palestinians lost, I found a paper that answered the question. He had presented that paper in 1968, and we will print it at the end of the report. Ever since we got to know him personally in 1958 the great man had not changed [his course], and he continued to look in his land and in the land of Palestinians and Arabs for a "society of warriors," the society of Carthage.

We were told that the Society of International Affairs here in Amman had held a closed door discussion about the future of Palestinian action after Beirut. We were hoping that this discussion would be made public or that its results be made public since there are people in this society with enlightened and sincere minds, and citizens in this country deserve to learn from them and to talk with them.

In London, our colleague 'Abd-al-Karim Abu al-Nasr of AL-MAJALLAH Magazine was able to get to a closed door discussion that was conducted by 23 Palestinians who are philosophers, financiers and economists. In that discussion, the Palestinians asked the following questions:

What do we do now after Beirut? Where do the Palestinians go in the next phase? What ought to be done and concentrated on in the light of the invasion of Lebanon and the siege of the Resistance in Beirut?

Although we are referring with considerable interest to what Karim reported in AL-MAJALLAH and although we cannot accept the interpretation that the conferees in London came up with, and consequently, we cannot accept the conclusions they came to, it is certain that a responsible and a courageous discussion of the question is worthy of attention.

The Palestinians who met in London came to the following conclusions:

1. It is difficult for the Palestinians to count on the military option in the confrontation with Israel because of the prevailing Palestinian, Arab and international situation.

2. It is necessary to focus on political action in future Palestinian action to ensure the rights of the Palestinian people.

3. The Palestinians who attended the discussion concluded that the United States was the country holding most of the keys to a solution in the area. Therefore an emphasis had to be placed on action in the United States to change the U.S. position on the Palestinian question.

4. The most important decision made by the conference was that of allocating 100 million dollars to finance "the battle of Palestine" in the United States; the money would be raised by Palestinians.

We stated that we are referring to this proposal, even though we do not agree with everything that was stated in it. But this remains a proposal to which people did sign their names. Some of these names are the names of important people. What we need most now are opinions that are public. We need opinions that are the result of thinking regardless of the premises of this thinking. The greatest accomplishment of Palestinians and Lebanese in the battle of Lebanon was the fact that they unleashed the will to fight opposite the total abstention of Arabs. The Palestinians and Lebanese presented ideas opposite the total barrenness of Arab thought.

We may not agree at all with the opinions of London's Palestinians, and we may consider them complementary to the conclusions that Anwar al-Sadat arrived at in Camp David. But most certainly we cannot accept the idea of outdoing the Palestinians and then confining their decision to what we want in the name of protecting the Revolution and its legitimate weapons. It is the Arabs who abstain from fighting who are prepared to fight until the last Palestinian!

We define what we want here of ourselves in Jordan. We define our national and our pan-Arab priorities.

And the Palestinians define what they think is appropriate for the phase on a national and a pan-Arab basis.

Then we work together on building one Jordanian-Palestinian position of struggle: Jordan is not to be divided, but Palestine is to be regained. The doubts that have been expressed and numerous regional statements that have been made are all the result of the fact that positions are not clear. All this is a result of the fact that national and pan-Arab objectives have not been clearly merged.

Jordan's struggle is first a struggle that depends on itself in the context of what is available nationally.

And the Palestinian struggle is first a struggle that depends on itself in the context of what is available nationally. If Jordanians and Palestinians come to the same position of struggle, we would have achieved a national destiny, and we would have presented a model of national, integrated action.

Say, "Do as you will!"

8:19

CNO: 4404 628

PROMINENT FIGURES DISCUSS COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS, FUTURE PROSPECTS

Rashid Karami Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1344, 6 Aug 82 pp 16-18

[Interview held in Tripoli: "No Recognition of, Or Negotiations Or Peace With, Israel, and the Army Is Rejected Because It Did Not Defend the Country!"; date not specified]

[Text] After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, AL-HAWADITH undertook a trip to visit a number of politicians in order to become familiar with their opinions with regard to the consequences of the latest events. In Tripoli AL-HAWADITH met with former prime minister Rashid Karami, who called upon everyone to wake up before it was too late because the Israeli presence in Lebanon during these last few weeks has revealed many [of the Israelis'] ambitions and practices. He talked about the presidential election campaign and said that the new president should be on who is acceptable to all Lebanese--and he emphasized the word "all." He also demanded that the election be held in a free and democratic atmosphere.

In Beirut AL-HAWADITH met with the head of the National Movement, Walid Junblat, who insisted that the Soviet Union still has a role to play in the Middle East but that it does not want to become involved with allies which are not [real] allies. He said that the old formula for Palestinian action is no longer valid and that it is necessary to have a new formula in order to continue pursuing the cause. He also asserted that the basic role in Lebanese politics is the role to be played by Mount Lebanon.

In 'Alayh AL-HAWADITH held an interview with Prince Majid Arislan and his son Prince Faysal. He emphasized his support for the 1943 National Covenant and the necessity of acting in accordance with it as a basis for real [national] accord. He said that there are not differences among Lebanese concerning the Palestinian presence which has existed [in Lebanon] since 1948. He added that God alone knows what event will take place before the presidential election on 23 September, and he stated for the first time that the Israelis' entry into al-Matn was based on a request made by the Druzes and the Maronites.

The Beirut-Tripoli road is open everywhere and is being used to transport all types of Lebanese, and even Israeli, fruits and vegetables. Yes, even Israeli fruits and vegetables. Israeli apples, grapes, and other fruits are now to be found in all of the marketplaces of Tripoli, the capital of North Lebanon! And Tripoli is holding its breath lest it become the official headquarters for the Palestinians after their exit from Beirut, but the city is accustomed to extending hospitality, even to the Palestinians who are living out in the open countryside and who have begun to be visited from time to time by booby-trapped vehicles which remind them how the fighting began in Beirut!

On a street which branches out from al-Tall Square, where I had lost my way, I encountered a group of boys playing in the middle of the street and asked one of them, whose name was Ghassan, how to get to the house of the "effendi" [Rashid Karami]. Ghassan looked at me and said: "I am a refugee and do not know anything about Tripoli." Then I asked him where he had come from, and he said: "I live in al-Bustah [in Beirut]. When the fighting began, the members of my family and I came here to Tripoli." Then I asked him: "Did they let you go through the eastern area [of Beirut]?" He immediately answered: "In the eastern part [of Beirut] they do not differentiate between Muslims and Christians. Since I am Lebanese, they permitted me to go through. However, they are not letting Syrians and Palestinians go through." These answers by Ghassan startled me and then I began to have a "serious" political discussion with him. But whenever I asked him a question, he, in turn, would ask me what my name was and where I came from. Then one of his friends interrupted and asked him: "What difference does it make to you whether you know his name and what area he comes from? Do you not see the word 'press' on his car?" Then Ghassan told him: "I am afraid that he might be from the intelligence agency!"

In the al-Tall Square area there was a large crowd and traffic jam and preparations were being made for the upcoming holiday. People were swarming in front of the merchants selling pastries in order to buy from them Ramadan pastries, zunud al-sitt ["the lady's forearms"--a type of pastry], sweet pastries with cheese, and all the other types of Arab sweets for which the city of Tripoli is famous. Among this crowd I continued making my way toward the "effendi's" house. I had to wait for some time because his villa was full of visitors. There his former chauffeur was speaking and making accusations against various leaders and ambassadors, and he kept on speaking at this social gathering until "his excellency" finally appeared and extended his welcome to everyone--especially to AL-HAWADITH. Then there was a long period of chatter between him and his visitors. His excellency contented himself with listening and showing expressions of surprise on his face when hearing what they had to say. When he did speak, he insisted that solidarity among the Lebanese was the only way to save Lebanon and that there was no reason to either negotiate or conclude a peace agreement with Israel, even if Israel proceeded to occupy all of Lebanon. He asserted that the Syrian forces in Lebanon were "legitimate forces" and that they would resist the Israeli enemy everywhere.



After a while the villa emptied of its visitors and we had the opportunity to conduct this interview with former prime minister Rashid Karami:

[Question] In spite of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, fighting in Tripoli has once again cropped up. It is said that the objective of these actions is to assert the Lebanese identity of Tripoli and to make sure that it does not fall under Syrian domination. What is your opinion concerning this? Also, are you in favor of having the Syrians leave Tripoli and North Lebanon?

[Answer] First of all, we should remember why the Syrians came into Lebanon and what were the objectives of this operation. It was the government [of Lebanon] which requested that the Syrians come in in order to put an end to the civil war and to preserve Lebanon's unity and sovereignty. This was made official by means of a decision issued by the Arab League, and the Syrian forces became part of the Arab Deterrent Forces. This means, then, that they are legitimate forces, that their stay is renewed every 6 months on the basis of an official request from the Lebanese government, and that they are still in Lebanon on this basis.

This is why I disapprove of all of this concocted fuss that is being raised concerning the Syrian or Arab Deterrent Forces. In any case, this fuss is part of a scenario which has been designed by local, Israeli, and international forces which are conspiring against Lebanon--Lebanon's existence, fate, and Arab identity.

Tripoli is a part of Lebanon. Tripoli has proved that it adheres to its Lebanese and its Arab identity and it has also proved that it adheres to the unity of our nation both in terms of people and institutions. On the basis of this, Tripoli appeals for and supports the legitimate government. But it has had the misfortune to suffer at the hands of this present administration which has been characterized by inaction and absence [of effective authority]. This administration has undertaken no role which would preserve its authority and consolidate its existence and its effectiveness. It is as if it is carrying out what others are telling it to do. Let us be frank about one thing. It is the U.S. which is influencing [this regime] and running the machinery [of this regime's government] in accordance with its plan and with circumstances.

For this reason Tripoli cannot deal with a situation which can only be dealt with by means of [steps taken by] a legitimate authority. This is why we feel that the situation as a whole, after the Israeli invasion and occupation now requires that the Lebanese take a united stand and demonstrate a strong Lebanese will so that we can get the Israeli occupiers to evacuate Lebanon. This must be done for the sake of Lebanon's future. If, after this bitter experience, we do not endeavor to save ourselves and straighten things out, then we will lose everything in the end.

[Question] As for the Arab Deterrent Forces, it appears that the government has taken the decision not to renew their stay. In your opinion, how will the Arab League find a way out of not renewing the stay of the Arab Deterrent Forces?

[Answer] In view of the current situation and Israeli occupation, I do not believe that it is possible for the legitimate Lebanese government to take such a decision because the resistance of the Syrian Deterrent Force to the Israelis, and the battles which have taken place between them, have made it the mission and responsibility of these Deterrent Forces to defend Lebanon. Thus the stay of the Deterrent Forces has become something which depends on this situation.

So I do not feel that it is either appropriate or in our national and Arab interests to waste time and bring up the subject of having the Syrian Deterrent Forces withdraw from Lebanon. Now is not the time to do this. We should all be working together to get the Israelis to leave.

[Question] Proposals have been made to bring the Palestinians to North Lebanon, especially to Tripoli, and then to distribute them to various Arab nations. What is your opinion regarding this?

[Answer] This is a lot of concerned talk, and the purpose of it is to stir up sensitive feelings and create problems. This makes no difference as far as the issues and objectives brought up are concerned because when a person moves from one room in his house to another he still has not changed the basic situation that he is in.

For this reason, we believe that the Palestinian resistance forces, which are supported by all Palestinians, will continue to fight and follow through with their revolution wherever they may be. Let me again emphasize that the exodus of 5,000 armed Palestinians from Beirut will not bring the issue to an end nor will it solve our existing problems. The reason for this is that there are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who at any time are capable of continuing to shoulder their responsibilities and wage their struggle to achieve their legitimate national rights.

[Question] Are you thinking about a military struggle?

[Answer] I do not think that the revolution can be carried out without resorting to the force of arms and without military action.

[Question] After what has happened, will Lebanon allow the Palestinians to use their territory as a base from which to engage in military action?

[Answer] There are agreements which determine the means and methods allowed by Lebanon regarding action taken by the Palestinians. These agreements are still legitimate ones and are still being complied with.

[Question] Regarding a national accord among the Lebanese, do you believe that it is still confronted with the obstacles which prevailed previously and that it is frustrated by the circumstances which existed before the war? Or do you believe that new circumstances have been brought about and that this national accord can now be achieved soon?

[Answer] I do not think that anything has changed. On the contrary, developments after the Israeli occupation have come to have even more influence on the situation and balance of forces. Our opinion is that the national accord should be based on definite principles. How can we reach an accord concerning confronting Israel? This is the principal matter concerning which the Lebanese need to take action today. Lebanese unity requires that all of us confront the enemy and work toward getting the enemy out of Lebanon--without any conditions or demands.

This is why I am asking how we can get East to meet West. All of us should wake up before it is too late because these few weeks of Israeli presence in our country have revealed many ambitions and practices which, as such, have constituted factors which have made it necessary for those who have cast their lot with the enemy to reconsider this position they have taken.

[Question] Begin says that he will not leave Lebanon before signing a peace treaty with the Lebanese government, and he is bringing pressure to bear in order to achieve this goal. How will it be possible to save Lebanon from this situation of isolation [vis-a-vis Israel] after it has been shown that the Arabs are powerless in the face of everything that has been going on in Lebanon?

[Answer] We consider that we Lebanese bear the prime responsibility in all of this. With their military force, they are able to occupy our land. But there is no power on earth which is able to crush our will. We will remain capable of rejecting, resisting, and opposing [the Israelis].

This is why I am continually saying that we should not recognize, negotiate with, or make peace with the enemy, nor should we engage in discussions concerning these matters with the enemy. Lebanon, as an Arab nation and a member of the Arab League, adheres to all the positions taken by the Arabs. Lebanon cannot take some unilateral action which will lead to Lebanon falling under Israeli domination and hegemony.

[Question] But the Arabs have been unable even to come together at a meeting in order to reach a decision concerning Lebanon and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front.

[Answer] But Israel has stopped at the edges of Beirut. This is the first time that Israel has not been able to achieve what it wants by means of a blitzkrieg, as it has done before.

When we realize that Gandhi liberated India by means of engaging in a fast, we can also say that our rights are stronger than all of their U.S. weapons.

[Question] It is being said that the Israelis stopped at the edges of Beirut in order to impose [the election of] a certain president of the republic of Lebanon. Are you in favor of conducting the presidential election under these circumstances? If not, what way is there out of this situation?

[Answer] Actually we demand that, first of all, the president of Lebanon be acceptable to all Lebanese, and we demand that his background and role be such that he not create a schism among those around him and that he not become president of only part of Lebanon rather than of all of Lebanon. Because of this, we demand that the election be held in a completely free and democratic atmosphere.

[Question] It is said that contacts are being made for the purpose of bringing you together with Bashir al-Jumayyil. How far have these contacts progressed? And what is your position regarding his candidacy for the presidency of the republic?

[Answer] I have already expressed my ideas concerning the next president. As for these contacts which you are talking about, they have not even begun, and therefore one cannot say that they have progressed to any particular point.

[Question] It is being said that the meetings which are taking place between Bashir al-Jumayyil and Walid Junblat constitute a type of plan for establishing a basis for ruling Lebanon and that thought is being given to revising the Lebanese [National Covenant] formula and establishing a national accord on the basis of having Lebanon be run by the Maronites and the Druzes. What is your opinion concerning this?

[Answer] When we say that we are in favor of Lebanese unity in terms of people and institutions, it is clear that this means that there must be a national accord which is all-embracing and which gives expression to the reality and composition of our people, otherwise the Lebanon set up in accordance with the balance of power which you are referring to will be a different Lebanon--both in terms of territory and people. I do not believe that anybody will accept such a Lebanon as long as everybody insists that Lebanon retain all of its 10,452 square kilometers of territory.

For this reason I want to assure you that when two persons have a meeting this does not change the existing facts and situation. The dispute which led to this war which has gone on for 8 years now is a dispute which is so deep and so fundamental that it is not possible for it to come to an end just as a result of some meeting which happens to take place. Achieving this would require agreement in terms of principles and true national vision which would result in the creation of a united democratic Arab Lebanon. Unless we have this, and unless there is total agreement concerning principles, [this type of Lebanon] cannot be brought about merely as a result of transitory circumstances and casual meetings. And this [total agreement in principles and this type of Lebanon] is what we are hoping for and what we are demanding.

[Question] We notice that North Lebanon is not involved in any of the meetings and any of the solutions which are being suggested. Why is this?

[Answer] There is no doubt that North Lebanon has distinguished itself through the national accord which has been realized there and by the fact



that all the North Lebanese are living together [peacefully], are constituting a single family today, and are providing a pattern for the Lebanon which we demand to have. This is why we consider that the geographical, political, and demographic situation of North Lebanon has led to the fact that North Lebanon has become isolated from all the decisions being made and all the actions being taken [in the other parts of Lebanon]. And this, praise be to God, is something that we are proud of.

[Question] Do you still have reservations concerning the Lebanese army, or have the new circumstances changed your reservations and feelings in this regard?

[Answer] Unfortunately we must say that nothing has changed in the status of the army which would cause us to change our view of it. Quite the contrary. The army did not do its duty and did not play its role in defending our nation and its citizens. The occupying Israeli army advanced to the Ba'abda Palace and the Ministry of Defense, where the army was concentrated, and the army did not fire a single shot at the advancing Israelis. This is something which we deplore and we consider it to be a disgrace on the part of our political authorities.

Let me remind you here of what our prime minister said after a cabinet meeting, which was: "We gave orders to the army to defend itself wherever it was deployed." The question we are asking now, after the enemy has advanced to all of these places where he is currently deployed, is: "Why did the army not defend itself?"

[Question] If agreement is reached concerning removing all foreign armies from Lebanon, that is, the Israelis, Palestinians, and Syrians, then who will provide for security in Lebanon as long as the problem of the army has not been solved as far as some people--including you--are concerned?

[Answer] Guaranteeing security will be achieved by means of uniting the Lebanese and having them reach an agreement among themselves. Elimination of the problem of fear and deceit is the way to achieve security in its overall sense, that is, political, social, and military security.

[Question] Do you, as a Muslim leader, have a view concerning solving Lebanon's crisis, or do you still feel that the 1943 formula can be relied on as a solution to the crisis?

[Answer] It has been said that justice is the basis of rule [over a given country]. When all Lebanese feel that they are equal in terms of rights, duties, and before the law, this will be the way to establish a democratic Lebanon which, with no problems, will be able to achieve unity of the Lebanese people on the basis of equal opportunity and without discrimination against one sect or individual in favor of another sect or individual.

[Question] The Palestinians are engaging in making intensive contacts with everyone, especially the Muslim leaders in Beirut. Are you being included in these contacts, and are they seeking your opinions?



[Answer] There is no doubt that whoever keeps up with politics and events has to know everything that is going on. For this reason we are attempting, as they are attempting, to keep abreast of what is going on.

[Question] Do you expect to see a peaceful solution concerning the city of Beirut, that is, the exit of the Palestinians from Beirut, or do you expect to see the Israelis enter Beirut?

[Answer] The fact is that no one can be certain of, or consider likely, either a political or military solution as long as circumstances still are subject to maneuvers and conspiracies.

[Question] If the solution is to be only one of the two abovementioned solutions, which of the two do you consider to be appropriate and less time-consuming?

[Answer] The fact is that we are against the enemy and against everything having to do with him, because there is no basis or justification for allowing anything which he has done. We totally reject this enemy and we reject his ambitions and the forces which are standing behind him--and which desire to use this pressure in order to force us to capitulate.

[Question] It is being said among political circles in Beirut that you have a dispute with former president Franjiyah, and this dispute is being attributed to the presidency of the republic. Are there any other reasons for this dispute?

[Answer] Needless to say, all of this is the figment of someone's imagination. There is no truth to this at all.

[Question] Some people consider it likely that a national federation government, under the leadership of former prime minister Sa'ib Salam, will be formed. Would Rashid Karami agree to his being represented in such a government?

[Answer] We cannot act on the basis of events which have not happened. We can only take such actions after such events have taken place.

#### Walid Junblat Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1344, 6 Aug 82 pp 18-19

[Interview held in Beirut by Zaki Shihab: "We Reject the Establishment of Petty Sectarian States, and Mount Lebanon's Role Is the Basic One!" date not specified]

[Text] Walid Junblat, leader of the Lebanese National Movement, preferred to leave his castle at al-Mukhtarah and live together with the people in West Beirut who have only the "shirts on their backs" and who are surrounded by the Israeli army. He criticized the "bourgeois" Beirutis who fled to Monte Carlo. He also talked about his meeting with Shimon Peres, the leader

of the Israeli opposition, who came to see him along with an escort guard from among the Israeli occupation troops. He also mentioned the message which he took from Philip Habib to Yasir 'Arafat in which he asked for French forces. However, events overtook the contents of the letter and the situation in Lebanon is more dangerous than many people think that it is. Here is our interview with him:

[Question] It is said that you missed an opportunity for yourself and for everyone who believes in your leadership when you refused to work within the framework of the Salvation Committee and preferred to work outside of it. It was as if you had abandoned the position given to you and preferred to fight with bow and arrow. What is your opinion regarding this?

[Answer] I did not abandon my role as far as the Salvation Committee is concerned. When I discovered that the atmosphere inside the committee was hostile to the Palestinians, I preferred to leave the Salvation Committee and let others take over the job of allowing the Palestinians to leave with honor.

Of course, I always kept abreast of what was going on, and I even contacted and met with the U.S. envoy. But in view of the fact that the prime minister is exceptionally capable in this area, we supported the prime minister and reached agreement with him on clear national principles concerning which concessions cannot be made. I have not given up my role, but I prefer to remain an observer, and we will see what happens.

[Question] If it is true that you met with Shimon Peres, then this means that you know the real secret behind the Zionist attack and all of its dimensions. What did Shimon Peres tell you?

[Answer] I do not know the secret behind the Zionist attack. It merely happened that when I was in al-Mukhtarrah one morning Shimon Peres came to al-Mukhtarrah--and of course he was accompanied by the Israeli army. We had a talk and we did not agree about anything. I cannot agree with him even though he is a socialist and is my colleague in the international socialist movement. In the final analysis his country clearly invaded my country and destroyed it. We did not agree concerning the Palestinians because, in his opinion, the Palestinian issue can be solved by means of the Jordanian plan, i.e., the [creation of a] "united Arab kingdom". This is not my opinion at all, because if it were offered to the Palestinians to go to Jordan, this would be tantamount to setting up a big trap for them. The first stage of solving the Palestinian problem involves the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. We did agree on one thing, and that was that there should be arbitration by the International Red Cross when determining the degree of destruction which took place in Sidon and Tyre, because he is under the impression that the destruction which took place in Sidon was on a limited scale.

[Question] Did you touch upon any other subjects?

[Answer] We did not touch upon any other subjects. It was merely a general political discussion.

[Question] There are those who believe that the Lebanese National Movement has forever lost the role which it played, and there are those who believe that the movement is in need of a new formula. Do you have any such formula?

[Answer] The Lebanese National Movement has not disappeared forever. The movement still exists. But, as you say, we do need to have a new formula to replace the old formula because the old formula is no longer, and cannot be, appropriate for our current stage of affairs. The old loose-fitting cloak needs to be re-tailored in accordance with circumstances which will be far more difficult than many of the previous circumstances have been.

[Question] Do you have any particular views concerning this matter?

[Answer] They are not yet in final form.

[Question] The story of Mount Lebanon is a story of "brothers and enemies," that is, Maronites and Druzes. Will the next page in this story be a page of continuous enmity, as events indicate that it will be?

[Answer] There has never been continuous enmity between the Maronites and Druzes. In spite of what happened in Salima during the 2-year war and in Arsun in the al-Matn area, and in spite of what happened on that day when Kamal Junblat was assassinated during the sectarian bloodshed in al-Shuf, the [Socialist Progressive] Party has been able to maintain the principle of coexistence in Mount Lebanon. It has been able to do this in spite of some isolated incidents. But today the Phalangist Party has adopted a new policy of subjugating our national, Arab, pan-Arab, and Islamic will in Mount Lebanon in order to carry out its sectarian plans which involve aiding Israel. No doubt you have heard from some of the well-known clients [of Israel] that there are people who are saying that a Druze nation should be established. But our Druze sect has shown no interest in this, will resist these plans with all possible means, and will preserve Mount Lebanon and its Arab identity. The Druze sect has always been the sword of the Arabs and Muslims in Lebanon, and its economic and cultural interests lie with the Arab world and not with Israel.

[Question] Is it true that disarmament in al-Shuf began some time ago, and in al-Mukhtarrah in particular?

[Answer] Disarmament attempts have begun. And today we are witnessing attempts at political deceit after the Phalangists occupied the Bayt al-Din Barracks with the aid of the Israelis. There are also Phalangist troop concentrations in the 'Alayh area. The Phalangists attempted to enter the al-Matn area, but they were resisted militarily. We are expecting all types of pressure, including assassinations and attempts to disarm us. As I have mentioned, the new stage of our political struggle will be a very hard one. However, I am confident that we will be able to hold out. Here we have the example of the Druzes in the Golan Heights who are still holding out in their positions and are still refusing to cooperate with the occupation authorities. Future events in Lebanon will not scare us.

[Question] Some of the Druzes in Israel have the idea of establishing a Druze nation including the Golan Heights and [parts of] Lebanon. The nation would start with al-Shuf and al-Matn, would extend through Hasbayya and Rashayya, and would go as far as the Golan Heights. Are you in favor of this idea?

[Answer] Even if the Druzes of the Golan Heights empowered me to do that, they would still not play any role in the history of the Druze in the East. The basic political role has always been played by Mount Lebanon. And we categorically reject the idea of establishing sectarian mini-states.

[Question] We note that among the Druzes who are cooperating with Israel there are former deputies, ministers, princes, and chieftains who are opponents of the Junblat dynasty. Do you believe that cooperation is something which is permanent, long-range, and deeply-rooted?

[Answer] There was the old Arsalan dynasty which ended with the death of Mayor Shakib Arsalan, who was my grandfather. His brother Mayor 'Adil Arsalan, as far as his general national role was concerned, made common cause with Sultan Basha al-Atrash and participated in the first Arab revolt along with Husayn [of Mecca]. His name was well-known just as the name Shakib Arsalan is well-known. These were real princes. These Arsalan princes were princes of the sword and of the pen. But today the title of "prince" is actually given to faint-hearted individuals. I will not say who they are, and we do not consider it important anyway. Of course, Mayor Majid Arsalan's national role is well-known. He made his mark during the first war between the Arabs and Israel when he and the Lebanese army entered al-Malikiyah [Malkiyya]. There are also some circles of people around him who are trying to involve him [in activities which he otherwise would not be involved in], but Mayor Majid, in spite of his advanced age and in spite of these circles of people, remains committed to his well-known national position and to the general Arab position. As for some of the chieftains and their actions, I will not comment on them. Allow me to merely point out that the general position taken by the Spiritual Committee and by Shaykh Muhammad Abu Shaqra is the well-known Arab position and the Lebanese national position.

[Question] What did Philip Habib say to you concerning reconstituting Lebanon from the nucleus of Lebanon's small core?

[Answer] Right now Philip Habib is only interested in getting the Palestinians out [of Beirut]. I brought Mr Habib's attention to the imminent dangers and the actions being engaged in in Lebanon by Israel and its clients, and I noticed that he was surprised. I do not know whether or not he is either capable of setting matters in motion or holding them in check, or if he is able to hold Israel and its clients in check either. I have begun to have my doubts about Habib's mission and about events today. I particularly feel this way when I see what is going on in the Gulf area is overshadowing events in Lebanon right now, and that a major catastrophe could occur.

[Question] You were the first emissary between Philip Habib and Yasir 'Arafat. What was the upshot of the message which you carried to 'Arafat?



[Answer] I took Mr Habib's conditions to 'Arafat. Mr Habib demanded that 'Arafat leave Lebanon. Then we reached agreement with 'Arafat concerning a formula for an honorable exit [for the Palestinians] which included guarantees that would prevent Beirut from being invaded. [If Beirut is invaded], what will happen to the Palestinians? Will their fate be the same as that of their fellow-Palestinians in the camps at al-Rashidiyah, al-Burj al-Shamali, and 'Ayn al-Hilwah? [Will there be] also a total slaughter of the Palestinians and Muslims in Beirut? [In any case], this was the content of the first letter which I carried, and this is still our position.

[Question] We have heard that Habib requested that you advise 'Arafat to officially request French troops. Why?

[Answer] In my last meeting with him, Habib asked me to take a message to Mr 'Arafat concerning requesting these troops. The advice was that 'Arafat request French troops from Mitterrand. However, a few days ago the situation changed considerably, and now we are back to square one. And matters are becoming more complicated and more critical.

[Question] Your position has oscillated between support for, and criticism of, the PLO. Do you have mixed feelings concerning this subject as some others do?

[Answer] I have already mentioned that it is necessary to have a new formula for action to be undertaken by the Palestinians. In my view, the old formula was like a loose-fitting garment which no longer does its job. However, new action needs to be undertaken in order that the Palestinians cause be pursued. This, of course, will be decided by the PLO. I cannot decide for them. My role is merely that of a friendly adviser. I have already stated this. This is not intended to be criticism, but only political advice.

[Question] You have said that the positions taken by Amin al-Jumayyil are better than the position taken by President Sarkis. Why?

[Answer] I said that Amin al-Jumayyil comprehends the danger of the situation and the danger of the attempts being made to partition and fragment Lebanon. I also believe that he comprehends the danger of the Israeli domination which is being instituted, in all senses of the word "domination," especially in the economic realm. Israel is going to try to build a bridge to the Arab world by means of Lebanon. Some Lebanese will lose their prominent positions when this happens. According to what I have heard, Amin al-Jumayyil's views are moderate views. Thus his position is a positive position. But President Sarkis, unfortunately, so far has capitulated to Israeli-U.S. conditions. What we need to have is a Lebanese position, and so far we have not seen any such position.

[Question] Has the role of the Soviet Union in the area disappeared for good?

[Answer] Their role has not disappeared, and it will not disappear. But the Soviet Union always acts cautiously, and does not wish to become involved in matters or with allies who are not really its allies. The Soviet Union



is not to blame for the situation we are in today. Many Arab and Lebanese voices have been heard criticizing the Soviet Union. But if we assess Soviet policy from 1956, the time of the arms deal with Nassir, up till today, then the Soviet position, in my view, has been positive. However, the Soviet Union's Arab allies have not really been allies. We cannot demand more from the Soviet Union than we are demanding of the Arabs.

[Question] Former prime minister Sa'ib Salam says that you are almost the only remaining feudalist in Lebanon. Nevertheless, you have said that you are going to stay in Beirut together with the poor ones who have only their shirts on their backs. What is your opinion regarding this matter?

[Answer] If, as Sa'ib Salam says, I am a feudalist, then he, with his bourgeois nature, is no better than I am or than anyone else is. I am staying in Beirut because of my personal convictions. It is not only a matter of feudalists, because most of the bourgeoisie in Beirut have fled to Monte Carlo, East Beirut, or to other places. These people have not the slightest sense of patriotism. Those who have remained in Beirut are the ones who have no shelter nor even a shirt to wear. I, in my opinion, am not staying here in order to politically outbid others, and I will suffer what they will be suffering.

[Question] You are in favor of uniting the ranks of the Muslims. But Sa'id Salam says that the Muslim ranks are united as never before.

[Answer] This may be Sa'ib Salam's opinion, but it is not my opinion. I have demanded, and am still demanding, that a position be taken which guarantees a minimum of Lebanese Muslim national [unity] so that we can deal with the future of Lebanon and future developments in the Lebanese arena. So far no such position has emerged. I do not know why. What has prevented it from happening? It is deplorable. But we still have time to take such a united Muslim position.

#### Faysal Arsalan Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1344, 6 Aug 82 pp 20-21

[Interview held in 'Alayh by Sharbil Zughayb: "The Entry of Israel Into al-Matn Was Based on Our Request and the Request of Father Nu'man!"; date not specified]

[Text] Whenever 'Alayh is mentioned, one must also mention along with it the leadership of the Arsalan dynasty which has been established in the "bride" of Lebanese summer resorts for 150 years. And the cedar trees planted by Mayor Tawfiq Arislan of 15 April 1915 are testimony to this fact. He planted them on the same day that the Turks decided to exile him to Anatolia. He asked permission from the [Turkish] military ruler to have some time to go see his family, used that time to go plant the small cedar trees, and then he went into exile.

It was under the branches of one of these very cedar trees, on which there is a sign made of marble by a master craftsman from Harajil and which indicates the date the tree was planted, that Mayor Majid Arsalan, one of the architects of Lebanon's independence, vented his anger on President Sarkis and accused him of being both personally and politically weak.

Mayor Majid said: "Two years ago I cut off relations with President Sarkis because he has not taken even a single stand concerning the abuse that Lebanon has been subjected to."

We said to Mayor Majid that the issue of extending President Sarkis's term of office is something which is now relevant in view of the political vacuum which exists. Upon hearing this, the prince straightened up in his chair and said: "May God not allow them to extend his term of office because he has been a disappointment to all of us. And bear in mind that I was one of his most enthusiastic supporters when he was elected in 1970--and even in 1976."

We then said to Mayor Majid: "What could President Sarkis previously have done under the Syrian occupation, and what can he do now under the Israeli occupation?"

Mayor Majid answered: "It was his impotence that enabled the Syrians to act the way they have in Lebanon, and this is also what enabled the Israelis to come in and led to the events which have taken place."

Then we directed Mayor Majid Arsalan's attention to the matter of the presidency of the republic, and whether or not he had any particular candidate. He broke out laughing and said: "Sham'un is a young desert cub and not ready yet."

We then switched our interview over to Mayor Faysal Arsalan, Mayor Majid's son, who is in charge of political matters in 'Alayh on behalf of his father. He asserted that the Israelis entered the Upper al-Matn area on the basis of a request made by the Druzes and by Father Paul Nu'man, the head of the Lebanese monastic order. He said that this was done in order to enable peace agreements to be reached among the natives of the villages whose inhabitants had been forced to evacuate during the Lebanese war.

We also talked with Mayor Faysal about the continuous meetings that are going on in 'Alayh in order to establish security in the town and about the possibility of the Arsalan family continuing to provide leadership for 'Alayh after it has been virtually absent for 7 years, especially in the military realm. Mayor Faysal said: "As for the leadership provided by Prince Majid and leadership by the Arsalan family, this has not simply come to an end as this has been suggested to some people, especially to the people of the Arab countries. We did not shoulder our arms because we, as Druzes, did not feel that we had a cause to fight for as some people claimed that we did. For this reason, most of the Druzes did not fight. The fighting was restricted to those among them who belonged to various parties."

"After the Israelis entered the two areas of al-Shuf and 'Alayh and after some other fighting occurred between the Lebanese forces and some of the members of the armed militias in various parties here, we called for the holding of a large-scale meeting in order to eliminate these problems and in order not to give anyone a pretext to sow sectarian disunity in Mount Lebanon. This was especially important since efforts to brainwash people were already in full swing, and the result had been that each faction believed that the other faction was its main enemy. This explains the enmity which the young men in the Lebanese forces have shown for those partial to the leftist parties, and vice-versa. The young people here believed that the Phalangists were Israel's client. After the Israelis came, some people in Mount Lebanon believed that the Israelis had come in order to oppress the Druzes. This was why it was necessary to hold a series of meetings in order to clarify matters and put them in their proper perspective."

[Question] By "clarification of matters" you mean that the Israelis did not come in order to oppress the Druzes?

[Answer] We are not sure of this. That is, we do not know if the Israelis are going to oppress the Druzes or not. All we know--and this is what the Israelis themselves are saying--is that the Israelis came to Lebanon in order to kick out the Palestinians and the Syrians.

[Question] Since you have returned to 'Alayh, once again the issue has been brought up concerning the traditional Druze leadership, returning matters more or less to the state they were in before, and reviving the Yazbak and Junblat dynasties so that they can play their traditional roles. This would mean electing two spiritual leaders [shaykhā 'aql] of the Druze sect. Are you in favor of this idea?

[Answer] If we refer to the law followed by the Druze sect, you will see that it stipulates the election of two spiritual leaders, rather than one spiritual leader, for the Druze sect. However, during the fighting all of these elections were suspended. But when the security situation, particularly the political situation generally, permits us to exercise our right to hold such elections, we will immediately call for the election of a second spiritual leader.

[Question] The visit made by some leaders of the Druze sect to Israel has given rise to a large-scale debate within the Druze sect. Some people have condemned it to be something which is positive. What is your position with regard to the visit?

[Answer] There is nothing new about men of religion paying visits to each other. Even before the fighting started, that is, before 1975, religious functions were taking place, each time in a different place, whether inside Lebanon or outside of Lebanon. Our men of religion used to go to places outside of Lebanon, and those from outside of Lebanon used to come to Lebanon. The latter was particularly true since Khalwat al-Bayyadah [near Hasbayya, in Lebanon] is the spiritual center for Druzes from all over the world, and we do not have the right to prevent any Druze from coming to

visit Khalwat al-Bayyadah, whether he is a Druze from Israel, Syria, or any other place.

[Question] After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, some people are discussing the possibility of either continuing the "internal Lebanese [political] game" or else doing away with it altogether. What is your view?

[Answer] Israel only acts in its own interest. We Lebanese so far have not been acting in our own interest and in the interest of our nation. Of course, a little bit of confusion will enter into the Lebanese game because they kicked the Lebanese [army] soldiers out of the barracks at Bayt al-Din and because they have replaced them with troops belonging to party militias. This is something which we are against. The same thing happened in the Rashayya Fortress. We are against everything and everybody except the Lebanese army. No matter what the circumstances are and who the troops are, we will only cooperate with the legitimate authorities.

[Question] The legitimate government today is helpless. How can we form the "structure" of a legitimate authority and start using it?

[Answer] We must all make sacrifices, renounce our gains, and use all possible means at our disposal to strengthen the legitimate government. Supporting this legitimate authority with words alone is something which is not enough and will not help.

The legitimate government today possesses the strongest of weapons, even though it is the weakest party. It is enough for the legitimate government to possess the weapon of legitimacy. The Lebanese, especially the silent majority--which means more than 80 percent of all Lebanese--are in favor of this legitimate authority. But it is not in the interests of those who have shouldered their weapons and established the militias to have the legitimate authority return and to have the army take over the reigns of being responsible for security in Lebanon.

[Question] It is said that the Israelis are procrastinating in Lebanon in order to impose the election of a certain president of the republic or to install a president who will be tantamount to representing the status quo. Would you cooperate with such a president?

[Answer] We do not know what God has in store for us between now and 23 September. But I do not believe that it is in the interest of Israel to prolong its stay in Lebanon and enter into a war of attrition.

[Question] Does this mean that you expect the Israelis to withdraw from Lebanon?

[Answer] The Israelis will not withdraw before they have achieved their objectives. But only God knows exactly what these objectives are.

[Question] Does Israel's stated objective for entering Lebanon correspond to what is in the interest of the Lebanese?

[Answer] Of course it does not. The Israelis came into Lebanon in order to take actions to help their own situation and not to help the situation of Lebanon. The only way we can deter Israel is by diplomatic means. But as long as there are Palestinians and Syrians in Lebanon, especially in Beirut, there will not be any political solution.

[Question] Does this mean that you expect that there will be a military solution for Beirut?

[Answer] Yes, I anticipate a military solution. But I hope that I am mistaken because I do not want to see destruction and ruin.

[Question] Israel is demanding that the Palestinian leaders, along with their 5,000 soldiers, leave Lebanon, even though some plans today being suggested for solutions to the problem involve having 300,000 Palestinians stay [in Lebanon]. Are you in favor of this [plan for having the Palestinians stay], even though this implies permanent settlement [of the Palestinians in Lebanon]?

[Answer] If the Palestinian leaders and their soldiers evacuate only Beirut, then nothing will have been accomplished.

No one objects to letting the Palestinians stay who came to Lebanon in 1948. But we cannot allow those to stay who came to Lebanon after that time and came from all of the other Arab nations. The reason for this is that these 300,000 Palestinians will take root again, not only in Beirut, but also in all areas of Lebanon. We will then have the same chaos again.

All solutions which are being proposed today cannot be put into effect, and the problems will remain unsolved, as long as a Palestinian state is not established for them and as long as their problem is not solved by means of a radical solution.

[Question] Syria has definitely refused to take in the Palestinians. This has also been the position of most of the other Arab nations. The justification for this refusal has been that the normal place for the Palestinians to be is Beirut. In view of these refusals [on the part of the Arab countries], how will it be possible to achieve a solution?

[Answer] Some of the Arab nations were the ones which led the Palestinians into this crisis, brought Lebanon into the situation which it is in today, and led Israel to invade Lebanon. Therefore, what these noble nations should do is to take in the Palestinians in order to really demonstrate their credibility concerning the Palestine cause.

These nations have rejected all peaceful solutions and have rejected all united Arab strategies that would deal with Lebanon. So let them now take this opportunity to deal with Israel and cease contenting themselves with merely screaming from afar. Lebanon has already endured a great deal that the [other] Arabs be able to take it easy.



[Question] All during the fighting which has gone on in Lebanon, hegemony of certain type has been exercised within the Druze sect. Has this hegemony lost its role since the person who exercised it is gone, or is it because of the Israeli invasion?

[Answer] When you say "hegemony," you must be talking about the leadership of the Junblat dynasty. This leadership is something which we cannot deny to the Junblats. The Junblats have been important, have been in the position of leadership, and their presence has been a factor. But we are not interested in having hegemony of the leftist parties. The Druze sect has not become leftist-oriented by virtue of the fact that the head of the Lebanese National Movement is a Druze. On the contrary, the Druzes were given various labels as soon as they started demanding to have a legitimate government, a [Lebanese] army, and constitutional institutions.

[Question] On the basis of the relationship which you have to the Lebanese Front and Walid Junblat, some people are saying that you are undertaking efforts to get Bashir al-Jumayyil and Walid Junblat to have a meeting. How far have these efforts progressed? (This question was asked before the meeting which actually took place in the Palace of the Republic a few days ago.)

[Answer] We are prepared to do anything in order to save Lebanon. But we are calling for a real national accord rather than an accord which consists merely of words. We are prepared to use all means at our disposal to play this role in view of our relationship to the Lebanese Front, on the one hand, and our ties to the Walid Junblat, on the other hand.

Our house is open to everyone. This has been the policy of Mayor Majid for the last 50 years. But do not forget that all of these problems are still unsolved and that it is not possible for us to discuss all of these matters as easily as you, judging by your question, seem to expect us to be able to do.

[Question] How would you describe your relationship with the Lebanese Front and Walid Junblat?

[Answer] We are in agreement with the Lebanese Front about saving Lebanon, supporting the legitimate authority, and supporting the Lebanese government, and Mayor Majid has also had ties of friendship with former president Camille Sham'un and with Pierre al-Jumayyil since the days of the mandate period and up to [and including] the time of Lebanon's independence.

As for our relationship with Walid Junblat, this is, among other things, a family relationship. In addition to this, this relationship holds our sect together and unites us and our national positions.

[Question] The fact that Israel has not occupied the whole Biqa' Valley and North Lebanon arouses suspicions that Israel is annexing parts of Lebanon which stand between it and Syria. If this happens, what will your position be?

[Answer] Joseph Sisco, on every occasion, expressed the same suspicions which you mentioned in your question. These suspicions involve not only Lebanon, but also the Gulf area. It is no secret that Israel is militarily helping Iran. The acceleration of the Iraqi-Iranian war by Iran is nothing more than an attempt to divert attention from Israel's occupation of Lebanon and to make it easy for the Israeli army to invade Beirut without any strong reaction from the rest of the world and without any hue and cry being raised in the media. It is clear today that the Arab nations are the victims of a dreadful conspiracy.

[Question] It is said that those who are profiting from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon are the Shiites and Druzes and that the biggest losers are the Chirsitans, even though it now appears to be the other way around in Lebanon. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] I am afraid that yesterday's game will be repeated today. The Christians, in the past, cheered for others rather than for Israel, and we have seen what the results were. When the Isrealis invaded Lebanon, the Christians then cheered [the Israelis]. As far as the Druzes are concerned, we hope to engage in a "pilgrimage of salvation." As for the Shiites, I no longer know what game it is that they are playing. In South Lebanon they are in favor of Israel, and they have set up road blocks together with the Isrealis. In Beirut they are in favor of the Palestinians, and in the Biqa' Valley they are with the Syrians. I am afraid that these different positions taken by the various Shiites will be their undoing. And as long as the Shiites are loyal to Khomeni, I believe that their loyalty to Lebanon will be a loyalty which is weak. In view of this apparent and undeclared alliance, it it could be no surprise that they are loyal to others!

[Question] It is said that there is a plan for solving the Lebanese crisis which involves having the Druzes take the place of the Sunnis as far as the position of prime minister is concerned. If you were offered the opportunity to form a government [as prime minister], would you agree to do so?

[Answer] We refuse to violate, in any way, the 1943 formula as embodied by the National Covenant. I would totally reject the idea of forming a government [as prime minister] if this would mean bringing harm to Lebanese unity and the efforts of the Lebanese people to rally around the legitimate government. It is necessary that each sect maintain the status which it had before. Consequently, any violation of the National Covenant would necessarily involve violating the Lebanese constitution. This is something which we absolutely reject because it would mean weakening and suffocating Lebanon.

Pierre al-Jumayyil Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1345, 13 Aug 82 pp 44-45

[Interview held in the Phalangist Party headquarters by Sharbil Zughayb: "Israel Is Behind the Attempts to Sow Disunity Between the Druzes and Maronites Because Lebanon Has Witnessed Its Racism"; date not specified.

[Text] AL-HAWADITH undertook another trip and visited three more politicians. They were Pierre al-Jumayyil, Jean 'Aziz, and 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i.

Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil stated in all frankness that the Arabs are not prepared to get their fingers burned because of the issue of Lebanon, and went on to say: "If we manage to reap the harvest of this war, then Lebanon could be a real prelude to solving the Palestinian issue."

In Jazzin the former deputy and minister Jean 'Aziz said that he had been expecting this invasion ever since Israel withdrew from Sinai.

In Tripoli the deputy Dr 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i admitted that he was not in agreement with everything said by former prime minister Rashid Karami, and said that all efforts to have the northern capital [Tripoli] explode have failed.

Pierre al-Jumayyil, the overall leader of the Lebanese Phalangist Party, in spite of his daily statements, never fails to come up with new points of view in his private interviews, especially with AL-HAWADITH--the magazine which he considers to be Lebanon's magazine in the Arab world.

There are those who expect the Phalangists to conclude a unilateral peace with Israel in case one of the Phalangist leaders becomes president of the republic. But Pierre al-Jumayyil, in his interview with AL-HAWADITH, has somewhat of a surprise for them. He asserts that Lebanon is a member of the Arab League, and in fact he considers it to be the founder of the Arab League--and that it is therefore impossible for Lebanon to be a foreign body in the Arab world. I met with him in his office at the Phalangist Party headquarters in order to conduct this interview with him. He told me that nowadays he has stopped giving private interviews, but that he would make an exception in the case of AL-HAWADITH.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] has more than once requested that the Phalangists intervene and prevent Israel from invading West Beirut. Apparently these efforts have not been successful. Will it be possible in the future for the Phalangists to play the role of mediator between Israel and the PLO?

[Answer] Why are you asking me this question? What ties do we have with Israel? Your question indicates that we have ties to Israel. This is not true. Why does Yasir 'Arafat ask us to intervene with Israel? In any case, he has not made this request of us [officially]. And if he had made this request, I would have told him: "You are closer to Israel than we are. You are the ones that got us into this mess against our will. Nobody in the world extended hospitality to you like we Lebanese have done with you. You should have used Lebanon as a forum from which to make the world come to understand your cause--which is not an issue of [square] kilometers, but rather an issue of a nation of people who have been expelled from their land. You did not take into consideration the climate of freedom which permitted you to engage in both political and informational and media action. You did not respect Lebanon's democracy, nor did you have the proper regard

for the Lebanese emigre presence throughout the world which, instead of supporting you, turned against you. You earned their hostility because of your actions and your excesses. In fact, you became a fifth column for the benefit of outside forces, and you brought harm to the Palestine cause and to Lebanon."

"You yourself, Yasir 'Arafat, when you began with the organization Fatah, said that you were not interested in any ideology. You emphasized that your ideology was to regain you land, and you said that any person who used the Palestine cause to serve the rightists or the leftists was a traitor. Unfortunately, all of the Palestinians were used as a fifth column to serve all forces and trends except the Palestine cause."

"Yasir 'Arafat, more than once you have stated that the solution to the Palestine issue should be something along the lines of the Lebanese [National Covenant] formula. That is, a nation should be created in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews could live together." When Mr Henry Kissinger came to the Middle East, and when the Palestine cause was at its prime, I sent him an open letter in which I explained to him the essence of the Palestine cause and emphasized in that letter that it was necessary to find a solution to this problem and to have the Palestinian people return to their land. What Yasir 'Arafat then did was to print this letter in several languages and distribute it to the world as a proposal for solving the Palestine problem, and he never consulted me before the distribution of the letter.

[Question] After the Israelis entered Lebanon, some Muslims said that if the Lebanese army had resisted this invasion, it would have been easier to achieve a national accord among the Lebanese and all of the obstacles to it would have disappeared. Why, in your opinion, did the Lebanese army not fight?

[Answer] Those who today are demanding a Lebanese army are the same people who endeavored to paralyze the army's capabilities, who did not undertake to rebuild it, who endeavored to undermine the organization of this army, and who became professionals in the field of all sorts of sabotage--as if it were an art learned in special schools. Furthermore, how can one demand that the smallest and weakest Arab army stand up alone and fight Israel? We demand that this war be a war fought by all Arabs. But even all the Arabs together did not hold out against Israel more than 6 days. So how can the Lebanese army alone do anything?

These accusations of treachery and serving as the agents of others are nothing new to us. We have gotten used to them, and we have gotten used to this malicious desire to destroy the army. We have seen this continually for the last 15 years. No Arab leader has been safe from the accusation of treachery.

Our army was one of the best armies in the Arab world. Although we have had to bear in mind sectarian circumstances and have had to guarantee rights to [members of all] the sects to occupy government positions, the army has never known any sectarian discrimination and sectarianism has never been the cause of any schisms in the army. In fact, discipline was the watchword of the army.

[Question] Bashir al-Jumayyil's meetings with Walid Junblat and then Majid Arsalan have led some people to think that the new formula for Lebanon will be a formula worked out between the Maronites and Druzes. Does this mean that the 1943 formula is no longer in effect?

[Answer] When all the outsiders have left Lebanon and give the Lebanese the opportunity to meet with each other, the issue will be solved in less than 24 hours. Lebanon's strength is to be found in this mutual understanding between its citizens and its various sects. Our independence in 1943 only came into being when we agreed to have Lebanon be independent from both East and West, that it have its present borders, and that all sects participate [in Lebanon's public life]. I believe that we did succeed in building the Lebanon which we had agreed upon and which is a meeting ground between East and West.

If Lebanon became a Muslim nation, it would no longer be considered Lebanon; if Lebanon became a Christian nation, it would no longer be considered Lebanon; if Lebanon became a Jewish nation, it would no longer be considered Lebanon; and if Lebanon became an atheist nation, it would no longer be considered Lebanon. The reason for this is that Lebanon's situation at present is a civilization as such, and this civilization is of a unique type which is not found anywhere else in the world.

The 1943 National Covenant did not come into being overnight. It took some time and some consultations for it to be worked out. I remember that the late Riyad al-Sulh used to say to me: "The issue in Lebanon is that of reassuring minorities. The greatest service that we Muslims in the East can render to the Arabs and to Lebanon is to reassure the Christians, no matter what price we have to pay. And whatever the price is, it will be cheap [in the long run]."

The important thing is not whether or not we exchange one formula for another. The important thing is that the Lebanese come to an agreement among themselves, that they make sacrifices for the sake of Lebanon, and that they not make Lebanon a headquarters or corridor for trends and movements which exist in both the East and the West, because the cause of Lebanon is a particular thing which only the Lebanese themselves understand.

[Question] The fighting which occurred in some of the villages of Mount Lebanon after the return of the Lebanese Forces to these villages has reminded people of the fighting in 1860 which took place between the Maronites and Druzes. What steps have been taken to prevent these types of clashes?

[Answer] The fighting which took place in 1860, and in other years, was all a result of maneuverings by foreign powers. When the Lebanese returned to their villages which they had abandoned, these outside forces again tried to impair the coexistence which exists between the Christians and the Druzes. We hastened to put a stop to the fighting and to prevent it from developing and expanding. I believe that we succeeded in these efforts. It would be no surprise to me if Israel itself were behind these events and this fighting because Lebanon has been the only witness to Israel's racism in this area.



[Question] In Lebanon Israel deals with everyone as if it is the highest authority for all involved. It has expanded Sa'd Haddad's mini-state, and in the rest of South Lebanon it is dealing with the Amal movement as if it were in charge of this area. In Mount Lebanon its attention and concern has been divided between the Druzes and the Christians. What is your opinion concerning this new "maestro" in Lebanon?

[Answer] Israel is doing what is in its interest, but the Arabs are not doing what is in their interest. The Lebanese are aware of what is in their interest, but they are helpless because outsiders are bringing pressure to bear to prevent the Lebanese from meeting and coming to an agreement among themselves. Furthermore, these outsiders do not know what is in their interest nor what is in Lebanon's interest. They have become agents for this and that regime. If the Lebanese would be left alone, all problems would be solved quickly and the Lebanese government would become the only maestro and would be responsible for all Lebanese.

After all this fighting which Lebanon has experienced, I believe that many people have lost their faith in the formula of coexistence. But I personally have not lost my faith in the 1943 formula. When we meet among ourselves and solve our problems, our situation will be better than it was and it will then be said again: "Whoever has a goat's resting place in Lebanon has gained himself something."

[Question] Israel demands that 5,000 armed Palestinians leave Beirut. Will this solve the problem in view of the fact that there are more than 500,000 Palestinians in Lebanon?

[Answer] Demanding that this number of Palestinians leave Lebanon will not solve the problem at all. The problem can only be solved when the Arab world becomes aware of its responsibilities and of the fact that this country with its area of 10,000 square kilometers and its population of 3 million people, is not able to get along with 700,000 Palestinians. This is true from the democratic and economic point of view--not to mention the business of the armed Palestinians. What I am saying is that their presence equals 288 persons per square kilometer. It would be a million times better for the Palestinians themselves, for Lebanon, and for the rest of the Arabs if the Palestinians were distributed among all of the Arab nations. If this happened, the Palestinians would live better and they would be leaving behind their tents, humiliation, and poverty. The Lebanese are tired of them, in addition to the fact that the other Arab nations are in need of them as a labor force. Besides, the population [in the other Arab countries] is no more than 1 or 2 persons per square kilometer, and they have the necessary material potential and resources [to absorb these Palestinians]. If we can bring this about, we will have rendered a service to the Palestinians and will have rescued Lebanon--until such time as the Palestine problem is solved.

[Question] It is said that there is a gentlemen's agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union which stipulates that the Israelis remain in South Lebanon, that the Syrians remain in the Biqa' Valley and North Lebanon, and that Lebanon once again become what it was before 1920. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] If the U.S. and Russia reach an agreement, and the Lebanese do not reach an agreement among themselves, what will we have gained? I am not surprised at what you are saying. The reason for this is that the U.S. has attempted to get Syria back in its orbit. What is going on in Lebanon is something which is very strange indeed. Syria has a treaty with the Soviet Union, and the battle which the East has been witnessing for the last 20 years is the oil battle which is being waged between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In spite of everything that has happened in Lebanon lately, the Soviet union has not lifted a single finger. In fact, it is the U.S. alone that is undertaking action. I would not be surprised if the U.S. has promised Syria something in order to bring Syria back into its orbit.

[Question] How can we, as Lebanese, prevent the fargmentation of Lebanon and consequently the permanent resettlement of the Palestinians, in view of the fact that the Arab nations are refusing to take in the Palestinians in order to have them stay and be resettled in Lebanon?

[Answer] If what you are saying has taken place, then this means that the Palestine cause has come to an end and that Lebanon has already vanished. This would mean disaster for the Arab nations because the minorities in the Arab nations would look to foreign countries for protection. This would mean that the Arab nations would once again be in the situation that they were in during the age of imperialism and the time of the mandates. Not only Lebanon would be lost, all of the Arab nations would be lost.

The greatest service which the Arabs could do for themselves and for Lebanon would be to cut off this hand belonging to outsiders which has been doing harm to Lebanon, whether Lebanon is an Arab nation or a non-Arab nation, and leave us alone. I assure you that the salvation of all of the Arabs will be found in what we do in Lebanon, and the salvation of Lebanon will take place only by means of action by the Lebanese. But world communism does not wish to have us come to an agreement among ourselves because its policy is one of sabotage. Lebanon has been the victim of these actions which will now infect the rest of the Arab world unless a stop is put to them as soon as possible.

[Question] Can the Phalangists sign a peace treaty with Israel if one of their leaders becomes president of the republic?

[Answer] We are a member nation of the Arab League, and we are one of its founding members. We are ready to embark upon any action which serves Lebanon and does not harm the interests of the Arab world because we do not wish to be a foreign body in the Arab world. We want the solution to the problem of the Israeli presence [in Lebanon] to be a solution agreed upon by the Arabs and the other nations of the world because any solution which would make Lebanon a foreign body in the [Arab] East is something which we reject and will not go along with. [End of interview]

At the end of the interview we had to have a chat about Bashir al-Jumayyil's candidacy for the presidency of the republic and the possibility that he would win this election and then move into the [presidential] palace in Ba'abda.

While we were chatting about his, the head of the Phalangist Party said: "Bashir is a courageous man. In these matters, he is bolder than I am. I would not have dared to announce such a candidacy during circumstances such as the present ones. I am not saying this because Bashir is my son, but rather because I am convinced that he is sincere, aboveboard, and a true Lebanese. As for what we hear about all of the others who are candidates for president--with due respect to all of them--they are either pro-Palestinian Lebanese, pro-Syrian Lebanese, pro-Arab Lebanese, or pro-Israeli Lebanese. In short, we have Lebanese 'of all different types.' But Bashir is a pure Lebanese, and if he becomes president he will be able to solve this crisis which Lebanon is stumbling around in."

"But he has assured everyone that they are adhering to the parliamentary system in Lebanon, that the majority will make the decision in the Chamber of Deputies, and that one must accept the decision made by the Chamber of Deputies."

The chat also touched upon the Israeli presence in Lebanon. Pierre al-Jumayyil said that he was apprehensive about this presence since there was a difference in religious convictions between Christians and Jews. He said that there was also a commercial factor inasmuch as Lebanese merchants are considered to be the principal competitors of Jewish merchants throughout the world. And he did not express any obvious optimism that the Lebanese problem would be solved soon.

#### Jean 'Aziz Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1345, 13 Aug 82 pp 46-47

[Interview held in Jazzin, Lebanon: "I Told the Israelis: 'Do Not Get Involved in the Political Game, and Get Out of Lebanon!'" ; date not specified.

[Text] "Jazzin, the bride of the waterfall, welcomes you." These are the words on a sign that has been put up at the entrance to the city near a statue of the Virgin Mary. Jazzin's situation in South Lebanon is a distinctive one, and it is considered to be the "decisive issue" as far as Christians are concerned when it comes to their taking a positive or negative position with regard to any matter or problem.

Jazzin has known how to eliminate the specter of sectarian war by adopting a wise policy and it was able to accept Syrian troops in its area in order to prevent the city from being bombarded. However, the entry of the Israelis into the city and the fact that no one opposed them is also something which is part of this policy--the fruits of which only the natives of Jazzin themselves are reaping. But why did some skirmishes occur between the Israeli and Syrian armies before the Syrian army withdrew from Jazzin, leaving behind equipment, vehicles, light weapons, supplies, and ammunition? Is there some secret behind this?

Jazzin's position in the heart of South Lebanon, and its possibility--before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon--of playing a role which would save Lebanon

from its crisis, were both things which led AL-HAWADITH to pay a visit to the home of the former deputy and probable candidate for the presidency of the republic, Mr Jean 'Aziz. We were hoping that he could shed some light on what had been going on, and what is still going on today under the Israeli military occupation.

We got in our car and started out from Riyad al-Sulh Square in Sidon across streets that were full of holes and which had seen a lot of fighting. These streets had witnessed Palestinain influence which prevailed over the influence of both the Lebanese and Syrian governments together. When we saw a torn picture of Ma'ruf Sa'd on a wall, we asked: "I wonder where Admiral Mustafa Sa'd is?" The answer was provided by one of the Lebanese citizens [of Sidon], who said that he had left the city on Saturday 5 June, that is, one day before the Israeli invasion took place!

We left Sidon and passed through the villages of al-Baramiyah, 'Abra, al-Salihiyah, and Kfar Falus, where we saw two headquarters of the Lebanese army--but no weapons were to be seen there. Then we came to Anan and Rum, the town of Christian-Muslim coexistence, where there was nothing to indicate the fact that the Israelis had come there except for the signs in Hebrew that were put up all along the road. Then we came to Dahr al-Ramlah where there was a checkpoint manned jointly by the Israeli army and Sa'd Haddad's "Army of Free Lebanon." We saw this before entering the city of Jazzin. The Israeli army was everywhere in the city of Jazzin, but was not bothering anyone. The [Israeli] military commander had requested that the Lebanese police control post in Jazzin exercise its police powers, resume its normal patrols, and spread its authority throughout the whole Jazzin area. Also, Phalangist flags were seen on some of the buildings again, and an office belonging to the Lebanese Forces was opened in the city. Pictures of Bashir al-Jumayyil were put up on some of the front shop windows. Also, the Israelis transformed the house of Deputy Edmond Rizq into an office for receiving complaints and taking care of the affairs of the citizens [of Jazzin]. Then we finished our walking tour of the streets of Jazzin, which had holes in them, and arrived at the home of Jean 'Aziz where petitions were being brought. It was as if nothing had changed. The house was full of people who were natives of the area and who had come to be reassured and to pay their respects to him. His Excellency Jean 'Aziz said: "This invasion was something to be expected ever since Israel withdrew from Sinai, especially since the people in the West Bank were continually causing disturbances--in coordination with the PLO leaders in Beirut. Israel then decided to break the back of the PLO in Lebanon. I also was expecting Israel to go beyond the Awwali River and reach al-Fakihani, especially in view of current circumstances in the Arab world which were opportune for Israel. The Arab ranks are now greatly fragmented and there is not a single Arab nation which can rely on any other fellow-Arab nation. Arab solidarity is something which no longer exists."

[Question] But how did they enter Jazzin?

[Answer] On the evening of Sunday 6 June a person from the town of Qaytuli contacted me and informed me that the Israelis had already taken the Hayturah

checkpoint, where the Syrian army had been, and that they were moving toward the Dahr al-Ramlah checkpoint. I immediately realized that they were going to be entering Jazzin on the following day.

[Question] What was the position of the Syrians in Jazzin while being confronted with this Israeli advance?

[Answer] The day after the Israelis got to Dahr al-Ramlah, the Syrian colonel got in touch with me through some of the young people in town. I myself went to see him, and there he was surrounded by about 100 soldiers who were wearing spotted [jungle] fatigues. We talked a little bit about the situation and I told him that I had heard over the radio that the Israeli Defense Force would not fight the Syrians unless provoked into doing so. He said to me: "This depends on our orders."

Then I explained to him Jazzin's situation: "Defending Jazzin from within is militarily of no benefit if the city is surrounded or bombarded. This is something which will harm us and bring destruction to the city. If you want to oppose the Israeli army, it would be better for you to go someplace outside the city." He then said to me: "This depends on our orders."

Then the colonel received a series of telephone calls, and while he was talking on the phone he wrote down some notes. Then he explained to one of his aides what he had written down, and did not inform me about any of it.

After these telephone calls, the colonel told me that he was apprehensive that the people of the city might create a supply crisis, and that this would force the Syrian troops to start resorting to field courts-martial. Then he asked me to intercede with the shop and gasoline station owners and get them not to hide their necessary and vital commodities. I promised him that I would try to do this, then I left in order to deal with the city's supply situation.

On Sunday at midnight Col Hasan of the Syrian army received orders to withdraw from Jazzin. The army withdrew and deployed some special sniper troops on top of some of the buildings facing the advancing Israelis. This led to the Israeli army replying with artillery fire to the Syrian sniper fire, and this caused some destruction in the city.

[Question] What was the reaction on the part of the people of the city after the Israelis entered Jazzin?

[Answer] The fact is that I have never received any complaint from any Lebanese citizen concerning immoral actions engaged in by Israeli soldiers. But there have been complaints from Lebanese against Lebanese. Some people are slandering others by telling Israeli officers that such-and-such individuals cooperated with the [PLO] fedayeen. The Israeli army then proceeds to arrest everyone in that area--not [only those from] the residence involved. This is not the fault of the Israelis. It is the fault of the Lebanese themselves. But they should be sure of things before they undertake such actions. In any case, no one--not even those arrested by the Israeli



army--has informed me that he was subjected to beatings, torture, or being burned with cigarette butts.

[Question] Was the situation different under the Syrians than it is today?

[Answer] As far as Jazzin is concerned, the Syrians' situation was different from what it was in other areas. The reason for this is that Jazzin knew how to deal with them in a way which was rational and based on a definite policy. We made it clear to them that we had not sold our land and honor to them. We showed them that we were not prepared to have the city blow up while they were in it because we were not capable of doing this. It was a situation which did not create deliberate abuses. But, of course, there has been a clear difference between them and the Israelis as far as the troops at the checkpoints are concerned. Most of the Israeli troops have graduated from school and know how to get along with people, whereas this was not true when the Syrians were here.

[Question] Are you saying then that the Israeli soldiers have more agreeable personalities than do the Syrian soldiers?

[Answer] My friend, either they are basically more civilized, or else their commanders told them before they came to Lebanon, that the Lebanese are sick of checkpoints, sick of being oppressed by others, and that they must treat the Lebanese well. They even refuse to accept gifts or invitations. I was even surprised when an Israeli television crew visited me and they refused to accept cigarettes because that was against their rules. One time an Israeli officer whose name was Eliahu came to see me, and when I tried to offer him a Marlboro cigarette, he insisted on smoking an Israeli cigarette instead because it was against his rules to accept cigarettes from us.

[Question] Some people are saying that, after the Syrians left Jazzin, Jean 'Aziz has become a rather tired man--if weariness can be correlated to the intensity of the Lebanese game that is going on. Is this true?

[Answer] First of all, I am not playing games. I told the Syrians that I could not be bought out by them and that I could not accept being their agent. I also said the same thing to the Israelis. I am a Lebanese patriot through and through. I follow my own path, am free, and do not belong to any party. Today I am dealing with the Israelis the same way that I dealt with the Syrians. My method of dealing is that of being true to myself and sincere with the person that I am dealing with. I do not use flattery because I do not need anyone.

I am amazed at what questions they are asking [about me] in Beirut. Tell them that I say that I do not need anybody--especially from the material point of view. I come from a long line of priests, and I can live either by eating a bowl of olives or by eating caviar, if I am able to. I have never been an agent of the Palestinians, Syrians, or Israelis.

When an Israeli officer asked me what is going on now, I told him that Israel should return Lebanon to all of the Lebanese, and should give back to them Lebanon's entire territory.

Yesterday I was visited by an adviser of Prime Minister Begin, and he was accompanied by a representative from the State of Texas in the U.S. Congress. I told him: "If you have come here in order to take the place of the Palestinians and the Syrians, then this is something which will rally all the Lebanese against you, and I will be in their front ranks."

[Question] This is not the first time that I have visited Jazzin. But since the Israelis have come here, I now see pictures and slogans which were not here all during the time of the [civil] war. Do these pictures and slogans evoke any feelings on your part?

[Answer] We the people of Jazzin are tolerant as far as these things go, and we have become accustomed to actions such as these. The party people who attached themselves to the Syrians had nothing better to do than to hang pictures, signs, and slogans. Today the pictures and signs have changed. However, those who engaged in these activities, and are still engaging in these activities, are people with ideological convictions who are somewhat alien to the atmosphere of Jazzin. They are not really true people of Jazzin, and Jazzin bears no responsibility concerning them.

[Question] What are your expectations today after the arrival of the Israelis?

[Answer] The battle of Beirut will define all the positions taken and will reveal all the cards. I have told the Israelis that destroying Beirut and killing all the Lebanese there will be both a very dreadful and unreasonable action--especially since within Israel there is a movement which rejects such action and which is gaining in momentum every day. Also, the United States is not prepared to soil its international prestige by agreeing to such an action. This is particularly true since the part of Beirut which would be destroyed is an area which is of particular religious significance, and while this would be going on the other half of Beirut would be merely looking on as a spectator, as if the whole affair did not concern it. If this happens, this action will not merely destroy the whole city of Beirut or just half of it. It will also destroy the foundation of Lebanon's independence and national unity.

If Israel proceeds to destroy Beirut--and this is something which I consider unlikely--the crisis will take a very dangerous turn and there will be dire consequences for the 1943 [National Covenant] formula. But if a political and military solution is reached--and it now appears that this will happen--events may not take this direction and in the future it might be possible to discuss all matters. However, the Beirut crisis will constitute the basic turning point.

'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i Interviewed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1345, 13 Aug 82 pp 48-49

[Interview held in Tripoli: "We Reject Transferring the Palestinians to Tripoli Because It Is a Zionist Demand!"; date not specified]

[Text] When Israel began its invasion of Lebanon, Tripoli's deputy, Dr 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i, returned to the city from Baghdad via a freighter which came from Cyprus. He thus managed to evade the Israeli sea blockade ships which were plowing the waters of Lebanon's coastline from north to south.

Dr al-Rafi'i's return coincided with the reoccurrence of skirmishes in Tripoli between supporters of Syria and their opponents the "Popular Resistance." This led former prime minister Karami to renew his efforts, along with the Coordination Commission, to put a stop to what was going on, especially since "the Israeli enemy is at our gates and in fact is in the heart of our country." These efforts this time were in coordination with Dr al-Rafi'i himself so that peace--if only a shaky peace--would once again reign in Tripoli.

Once again one sees pictures of the "doctor" all over the city. In North Lebanon he is known as the "doctor." Everybody prays that there will always be an accord between the "effendi" and the "doctor," because this means that the city will have peace and security.

Nighttime in Tripoli belongs only to people who carry arms. Checkpoints crop up all over the residential areas, streets, and alleys. The confrontation lines between al-Tabbanah and Ba'l Muhsin do not let anybody through, and whoever comes out of there is reborn! Since there is no peace or security in Tripoli except with the approval of the "doctor" and unless he reaches an agreement with the "effendi," we conducted this interview with the "doctor":

[Question] Some people are asking why you returned to Tripoli even though the situation in Tripoli has not changed.

[Answer] Is Tripoli not part of our country? Our country is Lebanon--including all of its territory and soil. What we are fighting for is Lebanon's unity, sovereignty, and independence. Our country is being directly opposed by a historical enemy who is our antithesis in everything cultural, our antithesis with regard to our national composition which includes all sects, and our opponent as far as our financial and commercial position is concerned at the crossroads of all the continents. This enemy is also hostile to our existence because he is racist, expansionist, and a Nazi. He wants to impose his will upon us in the Middle East. Naturally a person's patriotic duty makes it necessary for him to be among his family members, group, and fellow-citizens in order to oppose the enemy with all means at his disposal.

[Question] Since the Israelis have entered Lebanon, have all the Arab forces in Tripoli, and consequently in Lebanon as well, united their ranks in order to confront the Israelis?

[Answer] This is what we are demanding, this is our foremost fundamental cause, and this is the basis of patriotism. All of our efforts must be pooled in order to roll back the aggression, regardless of our conflicts on the side. This is why we have endeavored--in Tripoli, at least, and in all of Lebanon--to reach this objective. We are staying up nights in our efforts to deal with

all incidents, whether they are of a family nature, a general nature, incidents between one section of the city and another, or incidents between one group of families and organizations and another group of families and organizations. We are doing this in order to keep these incidents from exploding [into a more dangerous situation]. All of this is being done because of our primary national cause, which is that of opposing the Zionist enemy.

[Question] The Israelis' entry into Lebanon has not kept disturbances from cropping up again in Tripoli and has not led to all the forces being united in order to oppose the Israelis. It is also being said and rumored that the fighting which is going on now is the result of an effort to keep Tripoli within the Lebanese entity and not to allow it to fall under the domination of any [other] Arab nation. What is your view of Tripoli's situation as far as this matter is concerned?

[Answer] After the [Israeli] invasion, there has been a number of local and small-scale attempts to blow up the situation. But, thank God, [due to the efforts of] all of those who believe in the unity of this country, these attempts were nipped in the bud. All the citizens of Tripoli, without exception, are in favor of the unity of this city and are in favor of being part of a united, national, democratic Lebanon which interacts with the other Arab countries in its region. All these attempts [to explode the situation] which have been made were attempts which were notorious and had the objective of drawing the citizens of Tripoli into battles of a factional or family nature or into fighting for the cause of one particular section of the city or area against another section of the city or area. All of these attempts ended in failure.

[Question] It appears that the Lebanese government has made the decision not to renew [its request for assistance from] the Arab Deterrent Forces. Do you believe that Syria will abide by this decision if it is taken in the Arab League? If it does abide by this decision, who will guarantee security in North Lebanon?

[Answer] We are going through a stage of changes, and they are to be expected as a result of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and as a result of opposition to this aggression on the part of the various Lebanese factions--each opposing the aggression in its own way. We have made the appeal, and are still making the appeal, that this aggression not provide the opportunity to some of these factions to achieve gains for themselves at the expense of the whole country. We are still appealing for this because this aggression does not differentiate between one Lebanese and another, nor does it differentiate between Muslims and Christians. The Zionist entity was created in order to serve the interests of imperialism which desires to implant this entity as a permanent and definite reality in the Arab world since imperialism wants to definitely exploit the resources of the Arab world and wants to benefit from its strategic position.

We who are in Tripoli, and consequently also in Lebanon, want to use all means at our disposal to resist this aggression. We are doing this in order

that Lebanon once again be a country which is ruled by a national legitimate government which extends its authority to all parts of the country. When this happens, there will be no more justification for having Syrian troops in Lebanese territory. For this reason, we should pool all of our efforts and all work together for our country so that this country will be the country of all the Lebanese.

[Question] There has been a proposal to transfer all of the Palestinians to North Lebanon, especially to Tripoli, and from there to distribute them to the various Arab countries. Would you agree to host the Palestinians?

[Answer] This is a Zionist demand which aims at taking away Beirut's ability to resist in the face of the Zionist enemy. On the basis of this, we are 100 percent against this proposal.

[Question] As for the situation inside Tripoli, we notice that there is some confusion and entanglement with the checkpoints. [For example], the Abu Samra area, which is considered to be an area under the sway of Dr 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i, has a large number of checkpoints set up by the Army of God [jund allah]. Why are there these checkpoints, and against whom have they been set up?

[Answer] First of all, we are not claiming that there are areas which are areas that are under our sway--either due to the fact that I am a deputy or due to the fact that [I am the Lebanese leader of] the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. If there are checkpoints which have been set up, and which we have helped toward setting up, they have been set up for a very short time and they have been set up in order to ward off dangers which threaten this area. It was feared that those who were trying to break down security in the city would attempt to drag us into internal battle. But we managed to nip these attempts in the bud. These checkpoints were set up only for the purpose of control, and not to annoy our citizens or to subject them to inspection. In fact, they were set up in order to observe and control suspicious individuals whom it was feared would infiltrate into our areas and cause trouble there.

[Question] It is said that an agreement between the "effendi," and "doctor," and Faruq al-Muqaddam would serve to guarantee security for the city. What are the obstacles which prevent a continuation of mutual understanding between the members of this troika?

[Answer] When his excellency (the phrase "his excellency" is said with a slight smile), the former prime minister Rashid Karami, undertook his initiative to throw his weight behind efforts to provide security for the city and unite our ranks, we were among the first to rally to his support. We sent a telegram to Comrade Hisham 'Ubayd, our party's representative in Tripoli, telling him to participate in any patriotic action and participate in all meetings and patriotic organizations in order that we support Mr Karami's position and encourage him. We told him: "As long as you are in favor of having security for the city and are trying to prevent clashes, our hands are outstretched to you and we are ready to cooperate with you."



And this is actually what happened. This is not the first time since the fighting began in 1975 that we have stated that there is no conflict between us now and any patriotic person who is opposing the conspiracy. This is particularly true now after the Zionist invasion, and it is absolutely necessary that we have such a meeting with all sincere and loyal persons.

[Question] Is it possible for your approval in Tripoli of the positions taken by former prime minister Karami to extend to agreeing with his overall positions concerning Lebanon, especially with regard to the future president of the republic?

[Answer] The fact is that so far our contacts have not taken on any crystallized institutional form. The former prime minister meets with the Coordination Commission, each person expresses his opinion, and then "his excellency" makes a statement which is not always in full agreement with the upshot of what was brought up [and agreed to] inside [the Coordination Commission]--as some of our comrades have told me. For this reason it would be beneficial to raise this Coordination Commission to an institutional level. In such a case discussions in the commission would assume an organized form and all of the statements and declarations originating from this commission would be ones that have been written down and discussed--since they would be the positions and basic positions taken. Then it would be possible for these positions to develop into positions which would take on comprehensive dimensions. So far we are not in agreement with everything brought up and suggested by former prime minister Karami.

[Question] What if a dispute breaks out inside the Coordination Commission?

[Answer] The best thing would be for this commission to take on an institutional form. Nobody considers that what we have now is a final form [for the commission]. Although circumstances have led to this group taking on a certain form since the events of last February, this should not be the final and fixed form or formula for this commission. If the commission is brought up to an institutional level, then it will express the opinions of the city rather than expressing merely one opinion.

9468

CSO: 4404/625

ANMA ANNUAL REPORT ON INVESTMENT CODE NOTED

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 17 Sep 82 p 6

[Part IV of annual report of Moroccan Companies Association (ANMA): "Advantages and Disadvantages of the Industrial Investment Code"]

[Text] The following passage is taken from the ANMA report on the Investment Code:

Concerning the precise point of the Industrial Investment Code, ANMA stated in its reports that while a revision of the general regulations governing the nation's economic life is absolutely necessary, revision of the Industrial Investment Code is but one element in the series of incentive measures which the government must implement so that the combined effects will lead to the achievement of improved growth. The Code, still in draft form, reflects new conditions of admissibility with flexible and encouraging legislation regarding foreign investments, guaranteeing all domestic rights of establishment and the regulation of foreign exchange stipulating transfer guarantees.

Consequently, expansion of the field of application affects industrial enterprises as well as enterprises of an industrial nature with a new definition given to the PME [small and medium-size businesses]. Another fundamental guideline of the Code is the underlying idea of the division of the national territory into areas cumulating a development delay (III-IV), neutralizing intermediate zones (II) and penalizing the Casablanca zone deemed to exhibit a heavy industrial concentration.

The division creates a spirit of stratification in the Code and demonstrates the government's determination to create other development poles.

We believe that the experience gathered from the 1973 Code shows with certainty that the tax advantages, upgrading of land and industrial areas and the financial incentives for decentralization were not capable alone of geographically rechanneling investment.

On the contrary, much more decisive elements constantly decide in favor of Casablanca. It is a center evolving as a pole of growth, made up of a set of relatively integrated economic parameters and a fairly well-developed industrial infrastructure responding to the needs of a large number of activities.

Consequently, Casablanca drains off two-thirds of the country's investments and numerous recently established units have not yet achieved their optimum level of productivity and require logistical support from the government.

The Code's decisions must be based, not on a limitation of advantages by economic region, but only increased encouragement to zones judged to be behind in development.

An analysis of the fiscal provisions of the Code show that the privileges granted have a specific and not overall nature and have to do with a given tax or a given economic zone.

With respect, first of all, the exemption from the customs duty on machinery and equipment, imported either directly or through a lease credit enterprise, it is satisfying to note a total exemption for zones III and IV, but this measure should also concern Zone II (Casablanca) for industrial enterprises or those linked to industry in a spirit of economic uniformity for access to investment, inasmuch as customs duties are much more of a component of investment than a tax strictly speaking.

This encouragement is decisive with regard to the initial investment decision, whence the need to ease the strain in an overall sense in order to promote the establishment of projects, inasmuch as the initial financing is revised. The measure should therefore not be limited to expansions, but to new establishments. In addition and concerning Zone I, the limitation of the decision to expansions is normal as a restrictive technique.

Fiscal aspects concerning reimbursement of the special tax, exemption from the tax on products, recording and stamp duties and patents are evolutive in themselves, although certain limitations have been anticipated.

Provisions relating to tax exemptions from professional profits are very specific to the different industrial zones. The draft code seems to make this precise point the major incentive to decentralization.

It is in this way that Zones I and II are heavily penalized, with the requirement to fall into line even during establishment immediately following the realization of profits (except in the case of service enterprises linked to industry). This excessive measure places these enterprises in an unfavorable position because they must pay taxes even before they have achieved a rate of production making them financially stable. In addition, considering the operational need for certain industrial entities to be in such zones, it would be fitting to grant the 50-percent exemption for the first 5 years for Zone II, while keeping Zone I under the formal ban.

With respect to Zone III, the Code marks a step away from the 1973 Code, according to which certain cities were totally exempt for 10 years while being set up and which now have only a 50-percent exemption (Tangiers, Tetouan).

This measure seems to point toward investment saturation in those cities, which is apparently not the case.

Furthermore, one sees that service enterprises linked to industry enjoy broader advantages concerning the professional profits tax than industries strictly speaking.

As an additional incentive, this measure cannot fail to be appreciable.

In sum, the purpose of the proposed code should be found in a very broad advantage with respect to the professional profits tax and the inclusion of Zone II is highly desirable, if only during the years of startup marking the economic maturity of the enterprise.

At the same time, the proposed technique of the establishment of an exemption from the professional profits tax for investments in Zones III and IV or for the buying of shares is one initiative that might give better results than previous tax measures. However, this measure must be spelled out in numbers and must not be included in the 3-year brackets, but within a longer framework of time.

In addition, financial incentives are based on a 2-percent interest return directly deducted by credit organizations and the substitution of the reimbursement for the reduction constitutes a positive innovation, but the 2-percent rate is inadequate because of the constant increase in interest rates payable on loans granted by medium- and long-term credit organizations (BNDE [National Economic Development Bank]): 13 percent for establishment and 14 percent for expansion).

It should next be noted that direct bonuses paid on the occasion of the creation of stable jobs within the PME and the bearing of part of the cost of the land are positive elements that must be classified within a rigorous framework of practice and feasibility.

Finally, whatever the encouraging aspect of the advantages contained, it is necessary to return to one important gap, to wit, the silence regarding accelerated amortization. This technique should be confirmed so as to make it possible to replace equipment and production machinery continuously and thereby endow national industry with a truly competitive stance.

In order that the purpose of the Code may be achieved, other elements must intervene, including: the institution of fiscal assets in order to prevent double taxation of the company and shareholders; the granting of fiscal transparency to parent (holding) companies and subsidiaries when the latter reinvest their collected profits; no taxation of appreciation when it is re-invested; and savings and investment incentives.

In conclusion, these are only a few vital points which ANMA includes among its broadest concerns in order to arrive at a general climate of confidence and dedication to harmonious growth helping our nation. The observations we formulate are but a modest contribution to this aim.

CENSUS OBJECTIVES, METHODS EXPLAINED

Rabat L'OPINION in French 17 Aug 82 p 4

[Interview with Mohamed Dibs, delegate for the Center Economic Region, by Rachid El-Bal: date and place not specified]

[Text] Out of a concern to insure a better future for our citizens and establish our economy on sound and solid foundations by scientific and national means, following the example of the developed countries, a large-scale operation known as the RGPH (General Census of Population and Housing) will be carried out in the near future--from 3 to 20 September, to be exact. It will be the third of its kind, following those of 1960 and 1971, and the third since we became independent.

It is an operation which will require the mobilization of sizable material and human resources and a suitable organization if it is to succeed and achieve its assigned objectives.

In order to shed light on that operation, which is of capital importance for our country's development, we felt it necessary and even imperative to seek information from the delegate for the Center Economic Region, who incidentally is an expert in the field.

The dynamic young cadre with whom we had the pleasure of speaking is among those trained in the greatest discretion backed up by will. He spared no effort to help us define the meaning of this operation and thereby make our citizens aware of the significance of their contribution to the undertaking.

Here, then, is the text of our interview with Mohamed Dibs.

[Question] Morocco is getting ready for the RGPH, with the result that very sizable human, material, and financial resources have been mobilized. Can you tell us exactly what the RGPH is and why it is necessary?



## Pressing Need

[Answer] The last RGPH conducted in our country took place in 1971--11 years ago. It goes without saying that our young country has experienced some changes during that time.

The RGPH will enable us to measure the extent of those changes on the demographic, economic, and social levels.

So, far from being simply a matter of counting the inhabitants, the RGPH constitutes an exhaustive study of all residents of Morocco, whether they are present at their residence at 0 hours on 3 September (the reference date) or absent temporarily (for less than 6 months). It is a kind of snapshot taken as of the reference date.

As for the second part of your question--why a census?--I can answer you immediately by saying that it is a pressing need.

Like any developing country that is trying to industrialize, Morocco cannot escape the phenomenon of urbanization accompanied by depopulation of the rural areas, a situation made worse here by the drought that we have had for the past 2 years.

Understanding those migratory movements makes it possible, thanks to the RGPH, to obtain information on the size of those movements, on the cities, on attractive zones, and on "repellent" zones.

Other information--of great importance because it conditions all scientific planning--will be gathered. This pertains specifically to the following:

1. Civil status: age, sex, marital status, place of birth, place of residence, and so on.
2. Cultural data: degree of literacy, educational level attained, diplomas earned, and so on.
3. Employment: the extent of unemployment by socioprofessional category, kind of activity, and area of residence--and all of it broken down by age and sex.
4. Housing: type of housing, furnishings, status of the occupants, and density of occupation.
5. Other: the fertility of women, facilities and infrastructure in the douars, and so on.

[Question] Are those the only objectives of the RGPH?

[Answer] The RGPH has other objectives besides the processing of figures, and they are concerned with the above-mentioned areas of a demographic, economic, and social nature.

This is a matter chiefly of:

1. Determining the legal population--consisting of the present resident population plus the resident population absent for a period of less than 6 months--by administrative subdivision: province or prefecture, cercle, municipality or urban center, rural commune, and so on.

2. Setting up a sampling base. The reason is that the census is the only exhaustive operation reaching all households (meaning groups of people, related or not, who habitually live under the same roof and generally share expenses).

The results will provide an invaluable file, or data bank if you will, from which the samples for other surveys will be extracted--surveys of household consumption and expenditure, permanent surveys on employment, and population surveys--and all for the purpose of reducing the cost of those surveys and obtaining the results as quickly as possible so as to allow objective planning.

Why Teachers?

[Question] Officials say that 30,000 census takers and checkers will be used, all of them teachers. Are there reasons for that choice?

[Answer] The reasons are objective and operational in the sense that teachers:

1. Are scattered geographically, so they will not have to travel far to conduct their interviews.

2. Are accustomed to asking questions and can detect inadequate answers, whether intended or not.

3. Are generally known to the residents--since as census takers or checkers, they will do their work in the area where they either work or live.

Other considerations, such as age, years of experience, physical condition, and other criteria set by the local administrations were also taken into account.

[Question] Do you expect false statements?

[Answer] None of the questions to be asked--or almost none of them--has anything to do with a person's private life. They are concerned with the characteristics we mentioned.

"The census taker is neither a tax collector nor an inquisitor."

So what we are asking of the inhabitants is that they answer honestly and accurately, because the more we know about them, the better we will understand and define their needs. All the more since secrecy is guaranteed, and the results will be published as totals, not individually.

[Question] Do you expect to cover the entire kingdom in the 2-week period provided?

[Answer] An adequate organization has been set up on the basis of 2 years of preparatory work.

It works like this:

First the maps were prepared. This consisted of dividing each territorial unit into operational areas called census districts.

A district consists of between 170 and 220 housing units in general, and it is the area that will be covered by the census taker.

It was that work which enabled us to determine our requirements in terms of census takers, checkers, vehicles, and so on.

After that, a pilot census was conducted in July 1981 in order to test the organization as well as certain technical aspects of the operation.

Lastly, the census takers will be given about 10 days of training to give them a better understanding of all the concepts involved. They will be provided with explanations and methods so that nothing will be forgotten and all double counting will be avoided.

Cooperation Requested

[Question] Is it compulsory that the head of the household be present?

[Answer] It is desirable for the head of the household to give the answers personally. But if certain circumstances make that impossible, we will talk to the household member most qualified to answer. If questions remain unanswered, the census taker will leave a form indicating the day and hour of his second visit to the household to complete his questionnaire.

[Question] Can't he leave the questionnaire and let the interviewee complete the information?

[Answer] That is impossible because all the answers are coded or precoded. That is why we have to give the census takers about 10 days of training.

[Question] Do you think the media should play a role in explaining these things to the citizens?

[Answer] Since this operation is on such a large scale and is so indispensable as the basis for judicious planning--and therefore for a better distribution of socioeconomic facilities and infrastructure--it is the duty of the media to contribute effectively to its success. There have been radio and television broadcasts, and others will be scheduled as the operation's various phases proceed.

[Question] In what ways could cooperation by the interviewee be helpful?

[Answer] By the way in which he welcomes the census taker, by the honesty and accuracy of his answers, and by promptness in keeping the appointment, if there

is one, the interviewee will greatly facilitate the progress of the operation and definitely contribute to the expected results.

Note: In a future edition, we will present more details on this operation and its various aspects.

11798

CSO: 4519/295

## PRESIDENT DESCRIBES VARIOUS PROBLEMS, POLICIES

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Aug 82 p 3

[Interview with Dr Mukhtar al-Asamm by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Majid: "A Conversation on Decentralized Government in the Sudan: The Sudan's Main Enemy Is Backwardness and the Weak Economic Environment"; date and place not specified]

[Text] With the announcements last June of the results of the elections for governors in the five northern regions, the election of the chairman of the Higher Executive Council of the Southern Region, and the appointment of the new leaders, the decentralized government structures and institutions in the Sudan have been completed. The first steps toward this process with the signing of the peace treaty and the grant of regional autonomy to the south in the context of the united nation in March 1972, recognizing racial, cultural, religious and cultural differences and diversification and meeting the aspirations and ambitions of the people of the southern region to exercise autonomy and deal with their local issues.

This experiment has been fruitful, in spite of certain negative features, which no experiments are free from at their outset.

In March 1979, at a meeting of the central committee, in its third session, the Sudanese president raised the notion of regional government and the possibility of applying that throughout the Sudan in general on a basis where the Sudan would be divided into four regions with legal identities. He proposed three alternative geographical breakdowns of the overall territory and gave the citizens in the various areas of the country a chance to express their opinions [on them]. After numerous studies and consultations which took about a year, the Sudan was broken down into five regions: the Northern Region, including the Nile and the Northern Provinces, the Eastern Region, including the Provinces of Kassala and the Red Sea, the Central Region, including the Provinces of al-Jazirah, the Blue Nile and the White Nile, the Kordofan Region, including the Provinces of North and South Kordofan, and the Darfur Region, including the Provinces of North and South Darfur. The Southern Region was kept as it is. The Province of Khartoum was considered the national capital and seat of the central government.

On 2 March 1980 governors were appointed to the five northern Sudanese regions which were formed after ratification of the local government law in December 1980 that stipulated that a regional government would be drawn up in each region to be headed by a governor, to be called the regional governor, who would be assisted by a lieutenant governor and a suitable number of regional ministers.



The law spelled out the conditions for eligibility for the governorship and the method for appointing and removing governors, and the president was delegated the right to appoint regional governors during the transitional period, which included the period of assignment and appointment.

With the conclusion of this stage of decentralized government last May, the power to appoint regional governors came under the jurisdiction of each region, since the joint meetings of the regional people's assemblies and the regional conference of the Socialist Union nominate three people, of whom the president is to choose one as governor of the region.

In order to shed further light on the Sudanese experience in the field of decentralization, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met with Dr Mukhtar al-Asamm, former professor in the branch of political science at Khartoum University and current overseer of the national People's Assembly, on grounds that he is a specialist in this field and the task of followup and study was laid from the time decentralization in its new format became an idea that people devoted strong attention to.

Dr al-Asamm says:

"One need not explain that the Sudan is a continental country each of whose regions cover an area the size of France or several times the size of Britain. This issue in itself has created some basic components in the nature of the Sudanese state. To that one might add the cultural and environmental diversity of the various parts of the Sudan, which rises to a level of diversity in race, compelling us to accept differences and recognize the rights of various peoples to govern their own regions and develop their environmental and racial cultures while preserving a united Sudan."

[Question] This is as far as the motives for decentralization in the Sudan go. However, if we pause to consider regional government as a system of governments with a Sudanese coloring, where does it stand among the systems of government known throughout the world? What are the aspects of similarity and difference between them?

[Answer] The Sudan, contrary to most federal and confederate states, began united and remained united. America, for instance, which has followed the federal system, consisted of diverse states at the outset, each of which represented a country in its own right. These small countries gathered together under the pressure of need, circumstances and the desire for economic and social development under the aegis of a federal national union.

Confederate states follow the same principle, that is, they consist of small countries which have agreed to unite in the form of a unified country. Their unity, however, is less strong than that of federal countries. We here in the Sudan have been a united country with recognized geographic boundaries since the Turkish era, the al-Mahdi revolution and the British era, and we continued to be united within the context of these geographic boundaries during the periods that followed the independence of the Sudan.

However, we, in light of our new circumstances, have considered that we should break this united country down into regions for the sake of proper administration.

In their makeup, these regions resemble states in a federal system. However, they are breakdowns within a united country and the national authority continues to prevail in the various regions. At the same time, though, we have given each of the regions its own legislative assembly and have conferred powers on it by law as a basis for governance.

[Question] What are the powers of the regional governments and the limits of these powers?

[Answer] An essential point which must be mentioned in this regard is that the national (central) government has striven to have the relinquishment of its powers take place by virtue of the law on regional assemblies. The fact of the matter is that this relinquishment has been a voluntary relinquishment by the president of the executive powers granted him by virtue of the constitution to the masses of the Sudanese people in the various regions of the Sudan.

In other words, genuine powers to legislate in all areas, for example in health, medical treatment, including the construction of hospitals, and education up to the higher secondary level, have been conferred on the regional legislative people's assemblies by law.

These also include agricultural and veterinary powers up to the level of the construction of veterinary hospitals, powers to provide services up to the paving of streets, construction of libraries, social care, religious affairs, attention to cultural affairs and everything that could have the effect of socially, economically and spiritually influencing the life of the citizen of the regions.

The president has provided each region with a governor, to head up the executive system, who is assisted by a number of ministers. He is responsible before the regional people's assembly, which is elected by direct free elections based on true representation of all the working forces of the people.

[Question] Talk about the limits of the regional governments' powers leads to a question on the relationship between the national legislative system and the legislative agencies in the regions.

[Answer] Since we are a country that has based itself on a unique system, which we call regional government, to distinguish that from federal government, and have raised it above local government, we have authorized legislation of the national People's Assembly (the National parliament) to be binding on all the regions of the Sudan. The last legislative word lies with the national People's Assembly, which shares legislative power with the president in accordance with the constitution.

In other words, the regions have clear powers, in which the national People's Assembly or the national government does not interfere, although, if the situation requires, the national legislative system can abrogate regional legislation if national needs so require.

In summary, one can say that the relationship between them is a participatory one. The regional partner provides all the services, and it has a hand in

economic and social development, while the national partner provides defense and diplomatic representation, in the context of national security, and certain major projects and services which cannot administratively be put under the administration of a region such as transportation, air transport, postal and telegraph activities, and the like.

In his discussion of the system of parliamentary representation in the Sudan, Dr al-Asamm reviewed the former liberal parliamentary experiment in the Sudan between the years 1954 and 1958 and the years 1964 and 1969, pointing out that in these years the Sudan followed a parliamentary liberal system which we had adopted from the advanced West, which is different from us in terms of culture and environment, and applied in its entirety to our society in the Sudan.

He continued, "All parliamentary representation was founded on geographic elections in all areas of the Sudan, and the same principle was applied to local councils at that time. The result was that the people in local administration, that is, the supervisors of tribes, village chiefs, agents of members of religious factional families and leaders and representatives of factional parties, controlled the seats in parliament. Votes would be cast in accordance with the tribal and factional affiliations of the inherited leaders, who were as unfamiliar as could be with a sense of the aspirations of the masses. In fact, what they were concerned with was to preserve the traditional pattern which gave them the upper hand in the administration of the country and its legislation. It reached the point where the executive system, headed by the ministers, was selected from within a factional, tribal party parliament in accordance with the proportions in that parliament."

[Question] But what about the university graduates' districts at that time?

[Answer] During that period, certain districts were set aside for university graduates, where graduates of secondary and higher education would get one vote in their geographical area and 10 votes in the university graduates' national districts - that is, graduates of the secondary and university stages had 11 votes while ordinary citizens had one.

[Question] What was the purpose in that, that is, letting graduates have 11 votes when voting in parliament while ordinary citizens had one vote?

[Answer] It was an attempt aimed at limiting traditional tribesmen's control over parliament.

[Question] On what bases is parliamentary representation founded now?

[Answer] We in the Sudan face a single enemy -- backwardness, a weak economic structure and an absence of balanced growth. The way to defeat this enemy is also clear.

First is comprehensive economic and social development through socialism, with the intention of not concentrating development on the capitals and forgetting the rural areas. Rather, the approach is for us to proceed at the rate of two steps for the rural areas and one for urban areas and also to intensify develop-

ment and establish projects with large future benefits, even if that does not come quickly, and concentrate on such infrastructures of economy and development as roads, railroads, transportation and the like.

One can carry this approach out only through an alliance of all the masses. The compact defines the masses of the alliance as workers, farmers, intellectuals, soldiers and employers.

[Question] What are the advantages of this parliamentary representation as a new format for the exercise of democracy in the Sudan?

[Answer] These groups are allied with one another to develop a unified Sudan and eliminate the abuses of the former geographic representation which deprived us of representatives for farmers and people who bear the domestic economy on their shoulders, also deprived us of representation for workers, who suffer more than others in this vast country, excluded the Sudanese intellectuals, who generally are government employees from political participation and from the chance to offer themselves as leaders of the masses, and also excluded soldiers. The previous parliaments deprived them all of the honor of taking part in legislative assemblies. It was necessary that we devise a method which would enable these groups effectively to take part in adopting and carrying out decisions. Thus it happened that we established alliance districts so that the various groups in the alliance, through their various agencies, could choose people to represent them in the regional assemblies and the national People's Assembly.

However, at the same time we have retained the regional geographical constituencies in which citizens directly choose delegates and representatives to the assembly.

[Question] How do you view the success of this new method and the Sudan's economic and social situation?

[Answer] We are not like the West. We cannot prevent people in the civil service from being active in politics, not because we cannot compel them not to do so but because we consider that excluding them from politics is harmful to the rights of the nation. They are an educated minority, since the education rate in the Sudan does not exceed 20 percent, and we must acknowledge this economic and social fact.

The West might be able to manage that, and the East too, when their level of education is much higher. In many Arab countries, we find that there are two parliaments. In Britain there is the House of Lords and the House of Commons, which is elected; in America there are also two houses, one of them, Congress, by geographical election, and the other representing the states.

As far as the parliamentary experience in the Sudan goes, there is a single national assembly, the national People's Assembly. In our assembly, we have not neglected to combine the virtues and advantages of the two houses in other countries, since, in addition to the alliance districts and the geographical constituencies, we have set aside 10 percent of the assembly membership for selection by the president, in order to make up for deficiencies in areas of specialization which the geographical and alliance constituencies may not provide.

11887

CSO: 4504/498

END



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

Oct. 26, 1982